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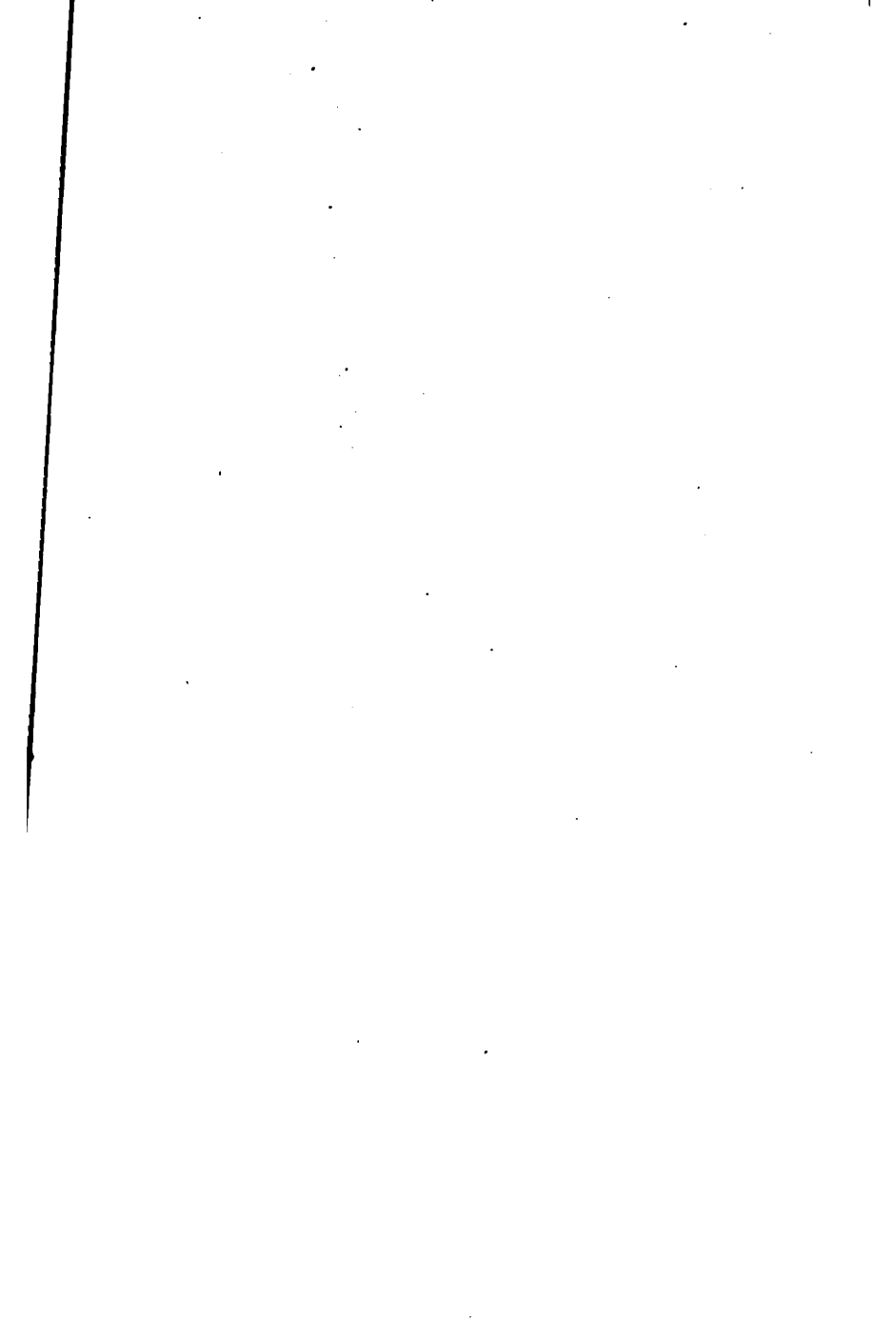
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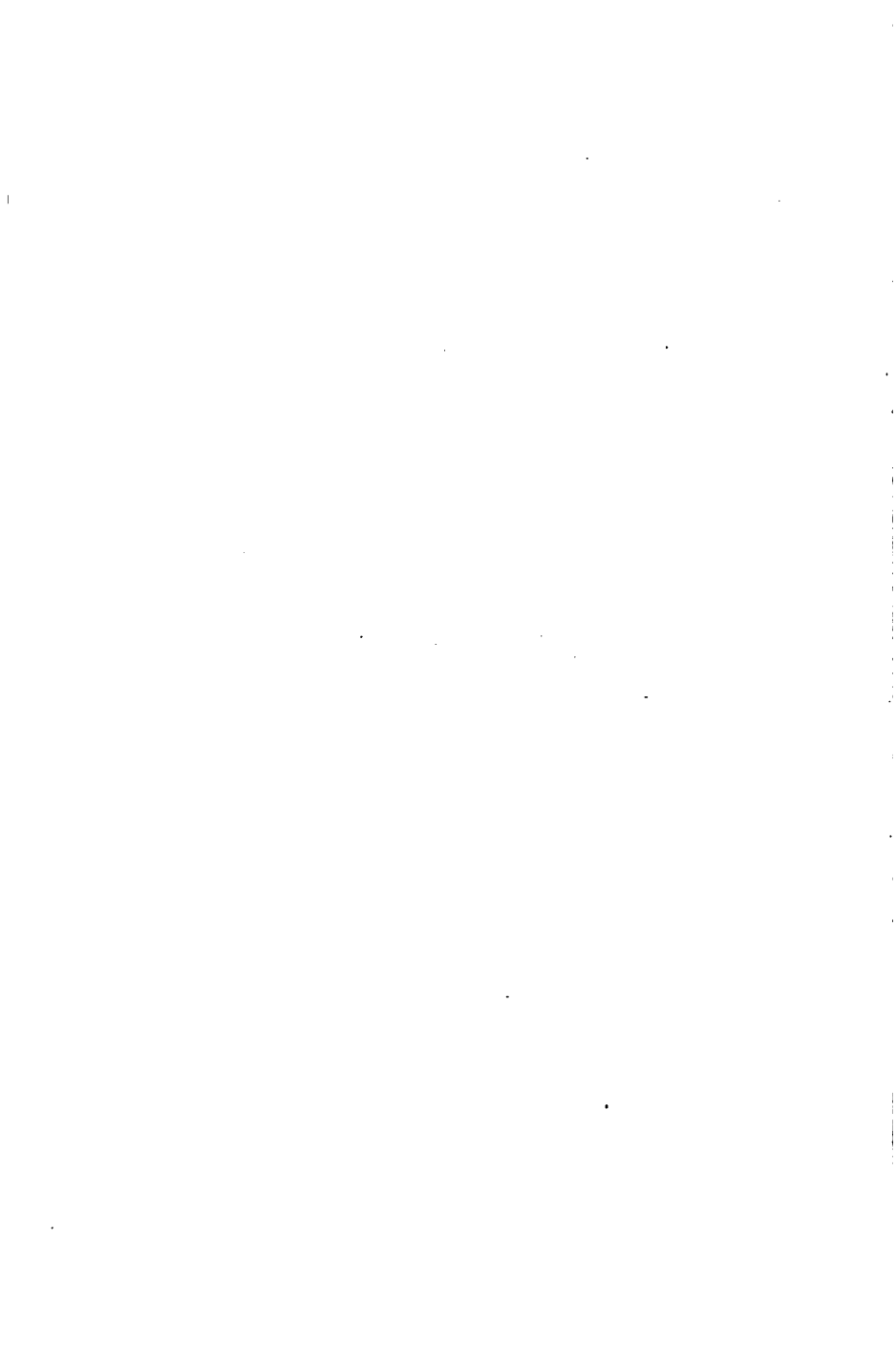
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G A L L O W A Y



GALLOWAY

IN ANCIENT AND MODERN TIMES

BY

Peter Handyside
P. H. M'KERRIE

opposed to Irish Home Rule, p. 5.

F.S.A. SCOT., F.R.G.S., ETC.

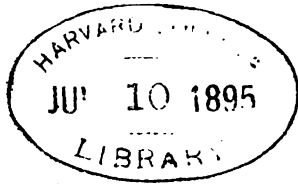
AUTHOR OF 'LANDS AND THEIR OWNERS IN GALLOWAY,' ETC.

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P R E F A C E.

THE taste for history reading is not so general as it should be, and is to be regretted, for without correct historical knowledge no one can be considered to be complete in education. In the present day it is specially required. As an example, the ignorance in regard to ancient Irish history has given rise to erroneous ideas connected with the present inhabitants in Ireland, as of late years shown in a marked manner by prominent men.

Some call history dry and uninteresting, which arises to a considerable extent from the many sensational publications affording temporary pleasure, and therefore much in request, to the neglect of useful subjects.

This history, from its title, and the little known of Galloway by the public, may probably be viewed as another dry production, and one which few can take any interest in. We have therefore to direct attention to the table of Contents, as it will show to Scotsmen, Irishmen, and Englishmen, possessed of national feel-

ings, that interesting information will be found in the volume. The style may be considered more or less dry, for we have had to meet the desire for a medium-sized volume at a moderate price, so as to be within purchasable reach of most classes. To carry this out terseness was required, with the absence of interesting stories in flowery descriptive language to attract and please readers. We have, however, dealt with subjects of a character which should afford some interest to those who peruse books.

Instead of dividing the volume into chapters, we have given it in continuous form, the commencement of each separate subject being notified in the margin. This, we think, is preferable to the old chapter style, which often interrupts the pleasure when interesting matter is being perused, and is also troublesome when reference to certain subjects is required.

P. H. M'KERLIE.

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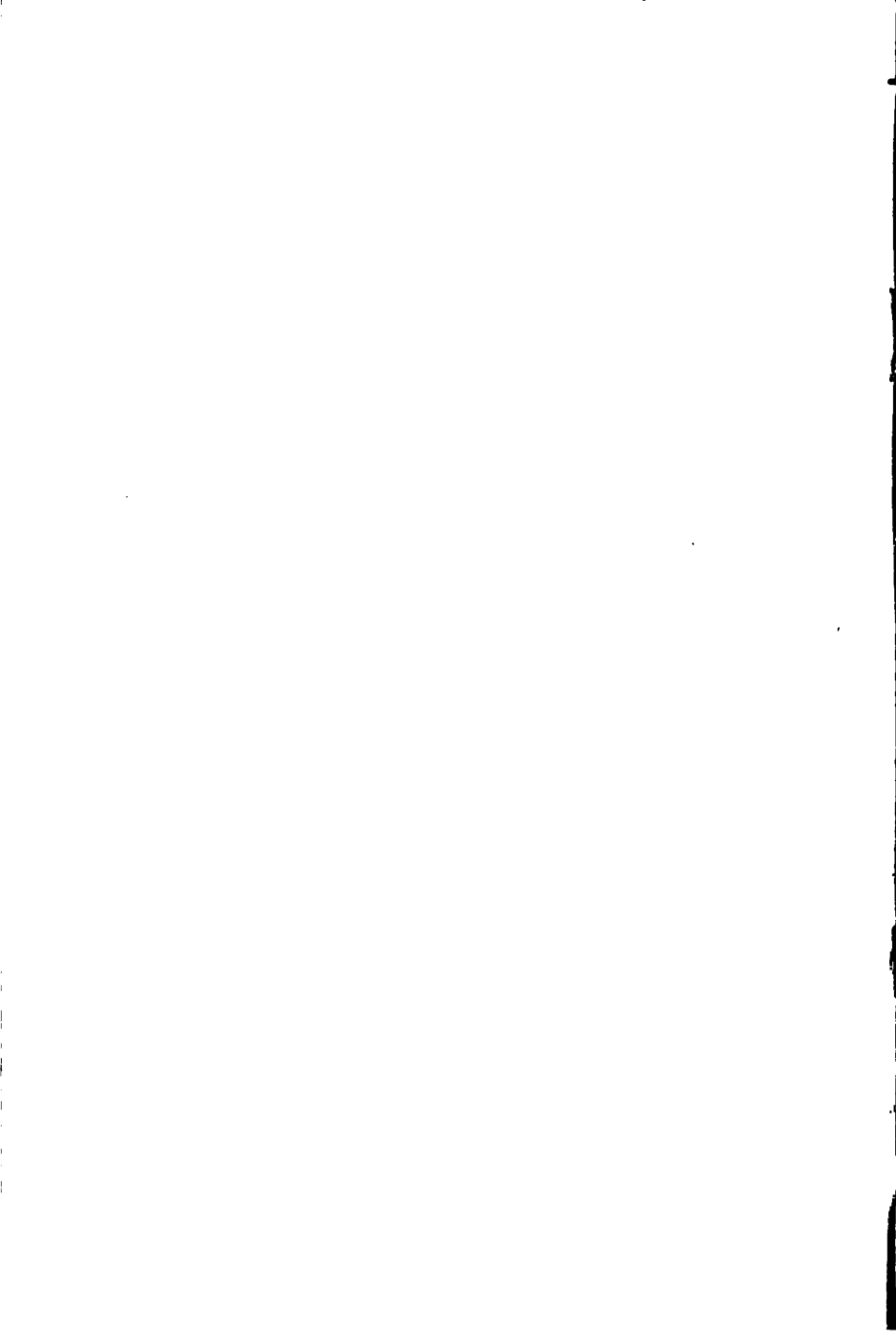
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GALLOWAY:

ANCIENT AND MODERN.



GALLOWAY, for long a *terra incognita* in a literary sense, has been a fertile field for various statements which, so far as we find, research does not always corroborate. There is no district in Scotland which surpasses Galloway in historical interest. This extends from the earliest traceable times; and although the materials are scanty, yet from what are left, coupled with local knowledge, sufficient can be gathered to give an outline of the past. The appearance of the country, with much that is wild and picturesque, adds charm to the subject. Since the publication of previous accounts, much fresh information has been obtained from Irish and Scandinavian sources, together with the issue by the Government and Book Clubs of the early Chronicles, public documents, and State papers, &c., relating to the United Kingdom generally; and therefore, to elucidate what we wish to convey in regard to Galloway, it

INTRO-
DUCTION.

Introduction.
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is necessary, first of all, to give a short outline account of the races in Britain, &c., in early times, so far as can be traced.

**THE EARLY
RACES IN
BRITAIN.**

It is related that the traveller Phythreas explored the coast from Missilie (Marseilles, then a colony of the Phoceans) to Cadiz in Spain, and from thence sailed to, and remained in, South Britain for some time. It is stated that he was born at Missilie. The dates given, and of his death, seem questionable. He lived, however, in the time of Alexander the Great, who died in 323 B.C., in the thirty-third year of his age. The visit of Phythreas is thus remote, and it does not advance our knowledge of the inhabitants of Britain at that early period. In fact, the history of the aborigines, or indeed anything about them, is shrouded in darkness, and may be treated as prehistoric. Tacitus relates that what sort of men did at first inhabit Britain—whether bred or born in that island, or whether they came thither from foreign parts—among such a barbarous people could not be discovered. From other writers it appears that the greatest scholars among the Britons had but little learning, and left no memorials. Tacitus adds that if all the circumstances are considered, it is possible that the Gauls first peopled Britain, which lies so near to them. Julius Cæsar, who preceded Tacitus about 135 years, stated that the strictest inquiry only discovered that the inland parts of Britain were inhabited by such as were the true and ancient natives, and by tradition believed to be the aborigines; but that the sea-coasts were peopled

with foreigners who had crossed out of Belgium in Gaul, on purpose to make new conquests, and that those people were generally called by the names of the cities from whence they came, now that they are settled in their new plantations, as the Belgæ, Atrabatii, Parisii, Canomanni, &c. Elton, in his 'Origins of English,' refers to the squadron of ships mentioned by Cæsar as having been British, and as showing the great advance in civilisation to which the southern Britons had arrived. On the other hand Du Chaillu, in 'The Viking Age,' considers the people referred to by Cæsar as the Veniti, a tribe who inhabited Brittany, and in all probability the advance-guard of the tribes of the north, who had a very great number of ships, with which they had been accustomed to sail to Britain, and excel the rest of the people in nautical experience, as those in the country in which they settled were not seafaring. He further supposes that they were the same as the Venedi, whom Tacitus conjecturally placed on the shores of the Baltic, and to the Vends so frequently mentioned in the Sagas. Cæsar also refers to the Druids, and that their religious profession was thought to have been first in Britain, and from thence carried over into Gaul. Also, that it was usual for the Gauls who would be thoroughly instructed in the discipline of the Druids to go over into Britain to learn it; and as the Druids had no books, the instruction must have been oral, and in the language known to the Gauls. Tacitus mentions that among the Britons the same religion as of the Gauls existed, and the people were possessed with

*The Early
Races in
Britain.*

*The Early
Races in
Britain.*

the same superstitions. Cæsar relates that the Gauls themselves spoke divers languages, which is qualified by Strabo, who mentions that they only differed in dialect, and only in some small matters varied from one another. Tacitus gives additional information by stating that the Britons and Gauls differed not much in their speech. Again, Cæsar and Strabo agree in the statement that the houses of the Britons were in all points like those of the Gauls, and seated in the midst of woods. The same two authorities also agree as to both wearing their hair long. Strabo also mentions that in their manners and customs the Britons are something like the Gauls; and Tacitus states that the Britons, when not conquered, remain such as the Gauls were formerly. Strabo relates that the Britons in their wars used a great number of chariots, as did some of the Gauls.

THE
GOIDELS
AND THE
CYMRI.

Mr Lloyd, the Welsh scholar and antiquary, discovered that the more ancient names of places in Wales were in Erse or Gaelic, and not Welsh, which gave rise to the belief that the Silures and Ordivices—the Welsh or Cymric race of Celts—were a later colony, before whom and other arrivals the earlier tribes gradually retired northward and westward to Scotland and Ireland. Pughe, in his Dictionary of the Welsh language, published in 1832, also mentions that the Welsh language then still remained the same as it was to a certainty thirteen hundred years previously, as could be fully proved; and he had no hesitation in asserting its usage in common parlance for above two thousand

years. He says that the word Cymmry (Cy-bro) is a Welshman; also that Cymmry is the universal appellation by which the Welsh call themselves, and every other people of the same race, and it is undoubtedly the origin of the Cymbri and Cimneri of ancient authors. In 'Early Britain — Celtic Britain,' it is given as merely meaning fellow-countrymen (*i.e.*, Welshmen), and best known in connection with Cumberland. It will be seen that the Cymric settlement, and previously that of the Goidels or Gaels long before them, carries the period to the prehistoric verge with but little to give light or guidance to the student. This, however, is no hindrance in these times to go into subjects beyond the reach of research; and we are told in 'Celtic Scotland' that the aborigines were Celtic, and the progenitors of the Gaels and Brythons, as also of the Cumbrians or Britons south of the Forth and Clyde, together with the Picts who originally inhabited the whole country north of these estuaries, as well as Galloway and a considerable part of Ireland. The district of the Brythons is known to be represented by the Welsh, Cornish, and Britons; but it is also stated that every circumstance tends to show that the Picts who inhabited the northern and western regions of Scotland, as well as Galloway and the districts in Ireland, belonged to the Gaelic race and spoke a Gaelic dialect, while the southern Picts, placed between them and a British people, presented features which assimilate them to both, and the conclusion comes to us that they were probably originally of the same Gaelic race, while a

*The
Goidels
and the
Cymri.*

*The
Goidels
and the
Cymri.*

British element had entered into their language from mixture of races or other influences. We have another opinion given in 'Early Britain—Celtic Britain,' which is, that there are data to prove the non-Celtic aborigines to have spoken what was practically one and the same language in both Britain and Ireland, and that it will probably be found to be derived from the same source as Basque. Moreover, that it has left its influence on Goidelic (Gaelic or Erse), which would go to show that when the ancient inhabitants were unable to hold their own, they were not extirpated by the Goidels (Gaels), but gradually assimilated by them, as there was no gulf between the aborigines and the Celtic invaders to make it impossible or even difficult for them to amalgamate; and it may be readily supposed that the Goidelic race has been greatly modified in its character by its absorption of the ancient people. It is also mentioned that the first Celtic invaders (the Goidel branch) had most to do with the aborigines, and the Goidelic race was thereby greatly modified in many respects by its absorption and assimilation of the indigenous element. Elsewhere it is stated that, a long time afterwards, the Brythonic Celts came and drove the Goidels before them, as the latter had done with the aborigines. Then we are next told that on Columba's advent the aboriginal race appears to have been dominant; and Bede, as usual, is quoted as an authority that they (the aborigines) were ruled by a most powerful king called Brude Maelchon, who (quoting from Bede) is described as the powerful king of the

aborigines. This king died in A.D. 584, and has been styled King of the Picts. It is further mentioned that the aboriginal language is supposed to have died out some time after the Norsemen began to plunder the country. As this was about A.D. 795, the aborigines, with so much to disturb them, must have had an extraordinary long innings.

*The
Goidels
and the
Cymri.*

From what we have given, the two leading modern authorities differ in their views, for views they only are. We agree in the opinion that there are three distinct races to be dealt with: the aborigines, of whom nothing is known; the Goidels or Gaels, who were the first Celtic invaders; and the Cymri or Brythons, who followed. We may as well give what Camden (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) wrote. He states that the inhabitants, or else the Gauls their next neighbours, gave this island the name of Britain, as there are circumstances which make it probable that the natives were called Brith in the old barbarous language. He quotes Martial, Juvenal, and Ausonius as authorities. Also that it was called by Procopius, Brithia. Then the ancient inscriptions set up by the Britons themselves read Brits, Britones, Brittus Coh, Briton, Ordinis Britton, and at Rome, in the Church of St Maria Rotunda, Natione Britts. He therefore concluded that, without doubt, Brit is the primitive from whence Brito is derived, and from it some light towards the original of the name of Britain is to be expected. He also points out that the general custom of all nations was to apply to themselves such names, whereby they were distinguished. Thus the Cimbr,

*The
Goidels
and the
Cymri.*

or Cumari, in common with the Gauls, had no other mark than the peculiar custom of painting their bodies. It is therefore believed that the Britons had that name from their painted bodies, the word Brith in the ancient language of the island signifying anything painted or coloured. Brith and Brit being very near in sound, Brith among the Britons would express what they were, painted, stained, dyed, and coloured. In following Camden in these remarks, and that in the British histories an inhabitant is called Brithon, his statement is supported by Zeuss, who mentions that Brittones is nothing else than Picti. Another point is the belief that the more ancient Greeks first gave the name Britain to this island. It cannot be doubted that stray Greeks were visitors long before the Romans appeared.

THE
ROMANS.

Julius Cæsar, who invaded South Britain B.C. 55 years, would lead it to be supposed that the inhabitants were not Celtic. This, however, as a positive statement, as we have already mentioned, has been modified on very good grounds, and shown, from references made by various ancient authorities, rather to have referred to dialect than language. We will not enter into the subject further than to state that, if obscure in Cæsar's time, it was not so much so in the following century, when Tacitus, after deliberate investigation, mentioned that they were Gauls. It is to be admitted that the term Gauli in the Roman classics is not quite clear whether it applied to the Celtic or the German tribes; but even as regards Germany, it was in

the possession of the Celts B.C. 112 years, and the Celtic element must have existed then and subsequently in those parts. Tacitus, born about A.D. 56, was the first Roman who gave an account of Scotland, and he mentions that it was inhabited by two nations—the Caledonians north of, and the Britanni south of, the Forth and Clyde. When the legions under Julius Agricola penetrated to North Britain, Tacitus had been the son-in-law of the Roman general for about three years, and had thus the means of gaining information. Agricola was born in A.D. 40, served under Suetonius Paulinus in Britain, was appointed governor in 78, and died in 93. In his third campaign, in A.D. 80, he extended the province to the north, formed camps, and wintered there. In his fourth campaign he secured possession of his acquisitions bounded by the Forth and Clyde, when the first *pretentura*, or line of defence, was formed by him, without turf or other walls or turrets, but afterwards fortified as found necessary. His fifth campaign, in A.D. 82, was to the south-western peninsula, afterwards known as Galloway. His sixth campaign was northwards, ending in the defeat of the Caledonians at the Grampians in A.D. 86. His operations in Scotland were conducted both by land and sea, for which latter course the many bays, &c., along the western coast offered facilities; and after his successful campaign, he proceeded with his fleet round the northern coast, when he satisfied himself that Britain was not a continent. The first wall of turf, &c., between the Forth and the Clyde, was subsequently erected by Lollius Urbicus, lieutenant

*The
Romans.*

of Britain under Antoninus Pius, who sent him in A.D. 139 to reconquer the territory between the Wall of Hadrian and the Forth and Clyde, which was accomplished. The northern natives afterwards again broke through; and it was not until A.D. 367, when the territory was entirely recovered by Theodosius, father of Theodosius the emperor, that the old barrier between the Forth and Clyde was restored. It has hitherto been understood from Bede's account, as obtained from the writings of Gildas, &c., that subsequently, when the Roman empire began to be in trouble, and the northern natives had again broken through the turf wall, a legion was sent and repulsed the invaders, but being recalled for the defence of Gaul, those south of the Forth and Clyde were advised to build a wall for their own security, which was done, composed of turf, &c.; but unskilled, and having no one to instruct them, it was of little use, and the northern tribes again overran the Lowlands. An appeal to Rome was once more made, when another legion was sent, and restored order; but with enough to do elsewhere, the Romans retired to Severus's wall, and it was then, aided by the inhabitants, before finally leaving Britain, that the stone wall between the German and Irish Seas was erected, near to, and in a line with, Hadrian's and Severus's turf, &c., wall, which was distinct. Each had a deep ditch in front, facing the north. The earthen, &c., and stone walls were from 130 yards to half a mile apart. We give this from a survey made in 1708, and which appears in a revised edition of Camden's 'Britannia.' It is therein repeated that the earthen

wall was erected by Hadrian and Severus, no doubt meaning that the latter completed it. In Elton's 'Origins of English' he states that the opinion now prevails that the wall (stone) and its parallel earthworks were all constructed by Hadrian alone. We are rather sceptical in regard to this. From what we have gathered from various authorities, our conclusion is that the earthen wall was constructed by Hadrian, who, born in A.D. 79, passed over to Britain in 120, and appears to have returned to Rome after its erection. He died there in 138. He had not the time to erect two works, and one of them of stone. This latter erection was a vast undertaking, and was carried over the highest hills throughout, whereas the earthen wall was in the low land. It also was a great undertaking. We are inclined to believe that Severus erected the stone one. Born in A.D. 146, he arrived in Britain in 197. A martyr to gout, he had to be carried in a litter, but his resolution was great. He died at York in 211. He had thus fourteen years to erect the stone wall, and it must have taken most of the time. That it could be raised hurriedly, on the final departure of the Romans, cannot be credited, when the nature of the country it occupied, and its great dimensions, with the materials used, are considered. The object in entering so minutely on this subject, has reference to the Dyke from Lochryan to the Solway Firth, where it ended opposite to Bowness on the Cumberland side of the firth, where was situated the termination of the wall from the Tyne on the east coast, which we have described as the work of

*The
Romans.*
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Severus. The Galloway Dyke began on Beoch farm on the shore of Lochryan, close to Reriginium, where Agricola, the Roman general, had a station. It passed through the farms of Braid, &c., on to Ochiltree, parish of Penninghame, on the hill of which there was, and perhaps still are, the remains of a watch-tower, and so on to the Loch of Cree, on the opposite side of which it passed through Cumberwood, &c., to the old bridge of Deugh, and thence through the farms of Moonkaig, Auchenshinnoch, to the hill end of Kerioch into Dumfriesshire, and on to the shore of the Solway. Throughout it was to some extent tortuous, as to be expected from the nature of the country, the whole length being estimated at upwards of fifty miles. In some places it is called the Roman, and in other parts the Picts Dyke. The fallacy about the Picts we will deal with under our account of the Irish-Scots. The Dyke must have been made by the Romans when they were driven southwards by the natives, and obliged to re-establish themselves behind Hadrian's barrier, which the Emperor Septimius Severus completed. As learned from what remains, it was of similar construction to the turf and earth, &c., walls mentioned by us, and it seems clear enough that it was built by the Romans to enable them to retain possession of Galloway for strategic purposes. The many arms of the sea, bays, &c., were most desirable, as they afforded shelter to their fleets of galleys. At the same time, it was contiguous to Cumberland, where they held a strong position throughout, and also commanding

all the west coast northward, the Isle of Man, &c., and Ireland opposite, if necessary. The district was thus of value to them. Their headquarters were at Loukopibia (Whithorn), Rerigonium at Innermesan, Lochryan, and Cærbantorigum near to Kirkcudbright. In addition, the full occupation of Galloway by the Romans is confirmed by the camps or forts scattered throughout the district; and that it was held from the time of Agricola, in A.D. 82, there is every reason to believe, while the small size of the camps or forts seems to prove that the country was not difficult to hold. All their stations were accessible by the sea, which accounts for no regular formed roads being found, excepting the one which passed through the northern parts of the district, by Altyre farm in Dalry, and Holm in Carsphairn parishes, thence to the ridge of Polwhat to the north-west boundary of Carsphairn parish into Ayrshire. It is considered to have been a branch of the road which passed through Nithsdale. Although the final severance in form took place in A.D. 410, when letters were sent to the cities to provide in future for their own defence, yet the actual periods when the Romans quitted Alba and Albain (so to distinguish) are not exactly known. The final move from the latter country can be found ranging to 436, and even later. When in Galloway (as in other places) they did not lead lives of celibacy or of restraint, and to more or less extent a mixed Roman and Cymric progeny must have been added to the population. This also appears in the higher grades; for when Donald died in A.D. 908,

*The
Romans.*

The
Romans.

he is mentioned as the last King of Strathclyde with Roman blood.

PTOLEMY'S
GEO-
GRAPHY.

The principal information to be obtained of Britain in early times is from Ptolemy, who published his Geography about A.D. 120. With nothing positive, yet there is every reason to believe that he never visited Britain, but obtained his information from some one in Agricola's army. It was issued forty years after his third campaign, when he extended the province to the Forth and Clyde, thirty-eight years after his fifth campaign and occupation of the peninsula now known as Galloway, and thirty-four after his sixth campaign, and defeat of the Caledonians at the Grampians, after which he immediately made his voyage round the western and northern coasts of Scotland. While wonderfully accurate in many respects, and abounding with much valuable information, Ptolemy, however, must not be followed with too implicit confidence. One serious mistake in regard to Scotland was placing eastwards what should have been north, and strict reliance as to the actual positions of all the places shown by him, until tested, should therefore be avoided. For example, he makes the promontory of the Novantæ country not the Mull of Galloway, but that of Cantyre in Argyllshire. The two Mulls in the distance have some resemblance, and may have led to the mistake. Whether or not they can be seen from each other, we are unable to state; but certainly, to our personal knowledge, Cantyre is to be seen from the high land in the northern part of the Rhinns of

Galloway. Approaching therefore with caution the actual locations of the various races or tribes as shown by Ptolemy, yet those interested in early history are largely indebted to him. Camden properly shows the Mull of Cantyre in Roman times, as that of the Epidii.

*Ptolemy's
Geography.*

Whether in Agricola's time the natives found by him were the aborigines, as some writers assume, to which we will hereafter refer, or that such were intermixed, or absorbed, by the subsequent arrivals of races from the continent of Europe, &c., is a very complicated subject to enter on. When Agricola advanced into Scotland there were nominally over twenty tribes. There is, however, some difficulty in clearly tracing each, and to be certain in some cases that they were not the same under different names. Ptolemy described the Caledonians as occupying the country from about Loch Long to the mouth of the Ness. The Vacomagi¹ from the Ness to the source of the Dee and the Don, and from the Moray Firth into Perthshire. The Tæxali¹ in Aberdeenshire; and the Vermicomæ¹ in Mearn, Angus, and Easter Fife. Of those on the west coast were the Epidii, Cerones, Creones, Carnonacæ, and the Carini. On the northern coast were the Cornavii, and on the south-eastern coast of Sutherland and Caithness, the Smertix and the Sugi. From about the Dornoch Firth to the country of the Caledonians were the Decantæ. The tribes south

¹ Supposed by Professor Rhys to have been aboriginal races, and the Mæatæ of history. The others of the north also supposed by him as probably more Celtic in race, and mostly perhaps in language. The foregoing are questionable suppositions.

*Ptolemy's
Geography.*

of the Forth and Clyde were the Otalini¹ or Ottadini, and the Gadeni. Some believe they were one and the same, but it is more generally understood that the first-named had the east district from the mouth of the Tweed to the Firth of Forth, and the latter Northumberland to the Roman Wall. To the west were the Damni,¹ whose territory ranged from the northern boundary of modern Galloway to the river Tay, marching with the Caledonians and the Vacomagi. To the east and south of the Damni marched the Selgovæ, a tribe possessing a considerable portion of modern Kirkcudbrightshire. To the west of them were the Novantæ, who occupied modern Wigtonshire, and eastward beyond the Cree to the river Dee, with its outlet at Kirkcudbright. The most information is given by Tacitus, who described all those north of the Forth and Clyde as Caledonians. Eumenius, however, is the first Roman authority who named the Picts as a people, which he did in A.D. 296, and in 310 he mentioned that the Caledonians and the Picts were the principal tribes in Scotland. He was an orator, and not a historian, but sufficient is learned to show that his statements were not inaccurate. Ammianus Marcellinus, who wrote in the fourth century, dying about A.D. 390, divided the northern tribes into two nations, the Dicaledones, and the Vec-

¹ Considered by Professor Rhys as decidedly Brythons, which is the usual opinion. When the Damni were divided by the wall from the Forth to the Clyde, it is suggested by the professor that it is they who appear as the Boresti, then as Vecturiones, and the men of Fortrum. The word Vecturiones is stated to have yielded in Goidelic the well-known name of the Brythons of the kingdom of Fortrum.

turiones,—the first possessing Argyll, Perth, and all the mountainous district northwards; and the Vecturiones, the eastern portion north of the Firth of Forth. Afterwards, in A.D. 360, the fierce nations, the Scots and Picts, are referred to by him as *Ptolemy's Geography.* “Scotorum, Pictorumque gentium ferarum,” who ravaged the Roman provinces; following which mention is made of the “Picti, Saxonesque, et Scoti, et Attacoti,” as attacking the Britanni. In 368 he stated that the Picts were divided into two nations, “Illud tamen sufficet, quod extempore Picti in duas gentes divisi, Dicaledones et Vecturiones, itidemque Attacoti, bellicosa hominum natio, et Scoti, per diversa vagantes, multa populabantur” —which is, “Let this suffice to be said, that at this time the Picts divided into two nations, the Dicaledonæ and Vecturiones, as also the Attacoti, a warlike people, and the Scots, ranging in divers parts (Scotland), ravaged many parts.” From these quotations it appears clear enough that in the fourth century the Picts north of the Forth and Clyde were known as two nations to the Romans. The tribes mentioned by Ptolemy must then have been subordinate, or absorbed. It is also some insight into the position held by the Scoti and the Attacotti, both of whom, as we go along, will be found to have been auxiliaries or wanderers from Ireland. Chalmers in his ‘Caledonia’ was correct in stating that the Cruithne of Ireland, like their progenitors during the Roman period, had engaged meantime in frequent enterprises against the opposite coast of North Britain. As for the Saxon-
esque, there can be no doubt that they were

*Ptolemy's
Geography.*

Northmen (afterwards so well known as Norsemen), who are known to have been rovers from an early period. The Saxons were not then known so far north. The fact that they are also mentioned as having been in the Orkneys is proof of this, for it is beyond question that the so-called Saxons found there in the fourth century were Norwegians, *alias* Norsemen.

THE PICTS.

Before proceeding further it is necessary to point out that the best modern critics regard the name Picti, or painted men, as having been given to those who tattooed, painted, or dyed their bodies. It was not a generic term. This subject we have already referred to at p. 8. Julius Cæsar made mention of the inhabitants in Britain as using vegetable juices for the purpose, but no special name was given to them; and about the end of the third century the practice had greatly fallen off where the Romans ruled. This extended to the south of the Forth and Clyde, which undoubtedly was from Roman civilisation. The term Picti, or painted men, thereby became restricted (of Galloway hereafter) to the people north of the Forth and Clyde, where the practice of tattooing or painting beasts, birds, and fish on their faces and bodies was continued. The Cruithne and the Scoti in Ireland also adorned, or rather abused, their persons in the same way, and whose names nearly convey the same meaning as Picti. There is no occasion to burden the subject with quotations from Zeuss's 'Grammatice Celtica,' or other authorities, for the derivation of the name is now

universally acknowledged as given by us. Gildas, *The Picts.*
Nennius, and Bede are far from agreeing about
them, which proves that without investigation
we must not follow early writers too implicitly.
The statement of Bede in the eighth century that
the Picts were a special race from Scythia, and
much more that he wrote, will not stand scrutiny.
He is the authority for the statement that in his
time the Galwegians were called Picts. This may
have been so; but that they were so named in the
time of St Ninian, who is said to have been born
about A.D. 368, and to have died on the 16th Sep-
tember 432, is not borne out by facts. The period
was when the Romans held the district, and the
inhabitants were only known to them as the
Novantæ. The colonisation from Ireland could
only then have been in its infancy, and, as we will
hereafter show, the term Pict in Galloway came
with them. Bede lived about 300 years after St
Ninian's time, and on most points he wrote cen-
turies after the periods. In addition, he was a
fixture all his lifetime at Jarrow. While his
writings are valuable from having so few from
others, we have felt that implicit confidence is to
be guarded against. The foregoing opinion we
have held for a good many years; and we lately
read in Elton's 'Origins of English' the following:
"There is no trustworthy account of the ancient
condition of the inland districts. The general
statements on this point by Bede and his medieval
imitators appear to be based on no original author-
ity. They are evidently founded on a few allu-
sions in the classical writings, and these in their

The Picts. turn upon the reports of merchants who were only familiar with the coast." Again: "Another very old account of Britain may be read in the history of Gildas, but its details are quite inconsistent with the actual historical evidence." In 'The Viking Age,' by Du Chaillu, he writes to the effect that the writings of Gildas, more or less copied by Nennius, Bede, and subsequent chroniclers, are a mass of glaring contradictions. In 'Celtic Scotland' the Northern Picts are described as unmistakably Gaelic—also known as the Cruithne—and to have been the sole inhabitants of Britain north of the Forth and Clyde and elsewhere; that in the old Welsh traditions they are called the Gwyddyl or Goidheal Ffichti (the Irish simply termed them Gwyddyl), who occupied the Pentland or Pictland Hills (near Edinburgh) to the river Carron (Stirlingshire), known to the Welsh as Manan Quotodin or Gododin, and to the Irish as the plain of Mannan. With the Picts in Scotland are coupled those so called in Galloway, and the Rughruidhe, who appear in the Irish Annals as the Cruithne or Picts, inhabiting the whole of the North of Ireland, but eventually confined to Dalnaraidhe or Dalarradia, and who remained a separate people, as the Cruithne. They are mentioned as having spoken the same language as the other people in Ireland, and in Irish history are made the descendants of Ir, one of the sons of Milesius. We give this outline from 'Celtic Scotland,' and will enter on the subject hereafter, to prove that the Picts in Ireland and those in Galloway belonged to the same clan-nas, but that the name in Galloway was used in

too wide a sense, as it principally was connected with the Rughruidhe or Rudrighe, who, while in Antrim and Down, &c., only formed a section of the Ulidians, and were believed to have been from a non-Celtic source. That the Picts north of the Forth and Clyde were Celtic there is every reason to believe; but from intermixture with the aborigines, as well as with the Cymri, &c., a difference more or less in language existed, the sole cause of so many speculations, strengthened by trusting too much to the writings of individuals who lived centuries ago, yet not at the periods. The explanation we give may have been the cause of Columba not understanding some of those he first came in contact with. We have knowledge in our own time how different dialects in different counties are apt to perplex a stranger. In connection with the so-called Picts in Galloway and those in other parts of Scotland, there is an old tradition that they brewed their ale from heather, and when the last of them died without having divulged the process, the secret of the said brewing was lost to posterity. We have always considered the statement as one of those to be classed as fabulous; and this is now confirmed as regards the Picts, for the story evidently relates to the Norsemen, who spiced their ale with herbs, and, as known, balmy kinds are to be found among heather. In Denmark the Dutch myrtle, or sweet willow, was used. It grows in marshy heaths or moors.

The Picts.

The Scoti, or Scotti, do not appear to have been known to the Romans for a considerable time. In

THE SCOTS.

The Scots. Ptolemy's maps of Scotland and Ireland they do not appear. Eumenius, who in A.D. 297 mentions the Picts, and also the Hibernii, makes no reference to the Scots. Porphyry, of the same period, however, writes of the "Scoticæ gentes," which may be taken as the first intimation. In Ireland they were considered to be of more recent settlement than the other tribes, but they became dominant in those parts where they had settled. As we have already mentioned, in A.D. 360 Ammianus refers to them, which is the first notice by a Roman author of the Scots then being in Scotland; but it does not prove that they had settled, which point we will enter on when we deal with the Attacotti. Ireland, from an early period, bore the name of Hibernia. Tacitus, when referring to that country, terms it "Hiberniam." The "gens Hibernorum," as the people, are also mentioned by Festus Avienus in the fourth century. Saint Patrick always wrote of the Scots in Ireland; and in the Irish Annals, Hibernia, and not Scotia, is used. In 'Celtic Scotland' the Scots and Picts are given as two branches of the Albani, and it is also mentioned that prior to A.D. 360 there is no reason to suppose that a single Scot ever set foot in North Britain. This is rather conflicting. No one called a Scot may be found as having been in Scotland prior to that date, but it does not follow that none of the race were there. In fact, everything bears out that the Goidels or Gaels were in Scotland and Ireland from an early period, although unknown by the name of Scots. Camden, in a map entitled "Britannia Romana" (the Romans in Britain),

places the Scots, as then located, in Ross-shire, and the dominant people. This, however, is only his opinion, but it is likely enough, only not known then by that name. The subject is far from clear. The line of kings who subsequently ruled Scotland were of the Scoti race from Ireland, the descendants of the leaders of the Dalriadini colony who settled in Argyllshire in A.D. 498, and from whom, as is supposed, the present name, Scotland, was obtained. It is not improbable, however, that it may have a Norse derivation, for as Skotland it may have been from Skatland, which is land subject to a tax or tribute. We will describe this when dealing with the Bordlands under "the Norse occupation." Also, under "The Irish-Scots," we will show that those of them settled in Argyllshire for long paid tribute to the Kings of Ulster. Both, therefore, refer to *skat* having been paid, which may have been corrupted to Skot-land, and hence Scotland.

The Scots.

We have already pointed out that the two leading modern authorities differ considerably in their statements and conclusions in regard to the first or early tribes in Britain. 'Celtic Scotland' upholds its title by making the aborigines the Celtic progenitors of all the people in Scotland. 'Early Britain—Celtic Britain,' on the other hand, terms the aborigines as having been non-Celtic—that the Goidels (Gaels) had most to do with them, and where the original natives were unable to hold their own, the Gaels became greatly modified by the absorption and assimilation of the indigenous element. We are also told that long afterwards

The Scots. the Brythonic Celts arrived and drove the Goidels, or Gaels, before them, as the latter had treated the aborigines. It is also stated that in some parts the aborigines held their own, and yet the Brythonic Celts on arrival drove the Goidels before them, as the latter had treated the aborigines. It is rather conflicting, and, if not to be followed on every point, is valuable in showing how little really is known. Of course, our opinion after such authorities will not be of much value to many; but that the Celtic inhabitants in Scotland in the first century were the descendants of, and the representatives of, the aborigines in purity, we credit as little as that all the Gaels driven northward and to Ireland by the Cymri were free from admixture of blood with the aborigines. The latter have been so completely lost sight of in history that their extirpation has been accepted without thought or reason. Now we have a revival all the other way, and so sweeping, as by one to be considered throughout as the dominant Celtic people in Scotland; and by another, that although of non-Celtic origin, yet known in after-times as the Picts, with their own powerful kings. This latter opinion is based on the story of Columba having found some people who could not speak Erse or Gaelic. There is, however, no proof that they were natives. It was in the sixth century, and they may have been Northmen or other foreigners, for Scotland appears to have had visitors from all parts in early times. We never hear anything of Roman settlers; but if all of those in the legions had to return, they would not take their progeny, which, doubtless, they were

not deficient in getting. We have already referred *The Scots.*
 to this. It is a point which has not been sufficiently
 considered, for a mixed race thereby in some dis-
 tricts must have been thus introduced. Neither
 has the fact been sufficiently noticed that all the
 legions and cohorts were not composed of men
 from Italy, but, many being auxiliary, were filled
 with other foreigners. Batavians and Tungri—
 believed to have been Germans—Thracians, and
 the Spanish or ninth legion, with others, are men-
 tioned as serving in North Britain. The Spanish
 legion twice met with reverses in Scotland, and
 what became of it after Agricola's departure is
 not known.

We will now return to Galloway during the
 Roman occupation, and its inhabitants, the Novantæ
 and the Selgovæ, of whom mention has already
 been made. In 'Celtic Scotland' it is stated that
 there is nothing to show that the first-named did
 not occupy the district throughout—that is, were
 the aborigines—and that the Selgovæ were a
 Brigantian tribe.

The name Selgovæ is believed to have been derived
 from *sealg*, the Gaelic "to hunt" (*sealgair* is a hunts-
 man), and from this tribe the Solway has been called.
 In 'Early Britain—Celtic Britain,' both tribes are
 supposed not to have been Brythons, and probably
 to no extent Celtic, except perhaps in point of
 language, adopted at an early period from the
 Goidelic invaders. Also, that they were likely to
 be a remnant of the aboriginal inhabitants, who
 appeared in history as Genunians, as thought, and

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Attacotti. The Selgovæ are described as probably the most thoroughly non-Celtic people south of the Clyde in Roman times, and later on, as of the more limited Pictish district; but there is nothing to prove that they had retained their non-Celtic tongue down to the sixth century, or to have lost it before the Roman occupation. The Novantæ are stated to have got their name from Novios or Novijos, the word for new, and probably given by the Brythons, from which word the Nith also had its name. In this statement it has been overlooked that the Novantæ district eastwards ended with the river Dee as its boundary, and they had nothing to do with the Nith, which is miles further to the east. Nor is it in favour of the conjecture that the Novantæ represented the aborigines, or the ancient people of the district, for the word Novios or Novijos is completely opposed to such a meaning. That it was given by the Brythons cannot be credited, unless bestowed by them on the district which they had taken possession of when the Goidels were driven out, and hence the people called the Novantæ by the Romans, which is much more probable. We will again touch on this subject. It has been further suggested that the building of the Roman Wall (north of England) affected to such a degree the kinsmen who were thus separated, that those on the north side probably lost their national characteristics, and became Brythonicised, while the Selgovæ remained to form, with the Novantæ, the Attacotti, who afterwards gave Roman Britain so much to do, until their power was broken by Theodosius

(A.D. 369), who enrolled their able-bodied men in the Roman army, and sent them to the Continent. All this seems to us to be very ingenious, but very erroneous. We give it to show the various ideas in regard to Galloway history. In the face of all these assertions the first known inhabitants are further described as having been there from old (*i.e.*, the aborigines), and were usually called the Picts of Galloway, which signifies that they agreed with the other Picts in tattooing themselves, and that they were always ready to fight against the Brythons. With the end of the Roman occupation it is further asserted that the Attacotti seem to have been subdued or driven beyond the Nith, and within the Dyke made probably about that time (A.D. 410), commencing opposite to the Roman Wall at Bowness, and ending at Lochryan, where the language of their descendants to the sixteenth century was Goidelic. These statements appear to be wrong. We cannot discover any basis for such conclusions. If the other Lowland tribes became Brythonicised from the well-known incident introduced into the account we have given from 'Early Britain, &c.,' who with any geographical knowledge of the south-west of Scotland can believe that the Novantæ and the Selgovæ were or could be exempted from the same ordeal, but kept, from some unexplained miracle, as a peculiar people, as pure Goidels, although described as having been originally non-Celtic, with the Brythons as their neighbours on the north and east, the sea bounding in all other parts? It is incredible. As we will show hereafter, the Erse or

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Gaelic spoken by the people in Galloway, subsequent to the Roman occupation, was brought there by the Picts so called, who were not the Novantæ, &c., but colonists who had to leave Ireland, commencing about the time of the departure of the Romans, and continuing to arrive for some centuries, when they became dominant over the Novantæ, who we believe to have been a Cymric people. In both 'Celtic Scotland' and 'Early Britain, &c.,' it is admitted that Carbantium, which must be Carbantorigan, was the town of the Selgovæ, and in the first-named work derived from two Welsh forms, Tadoriton and Maporiton, the prefixes Tad and Map being respectively father and son. In the other work referred to, it is surmised that it may, in an abbreviated form, be Carvetior, of a Roman inscription on a stone at Penrith, in memory of a man who held a quæstorial office in the place it points to. It is added that, if so, a Goidelic language was in use among the Selgovæ at the time the epitaph was written, or else a non-Celtic one. This indecision is rather unfortunate, for it indicates that the whole matter is dealt with as supposition, and as it does not seem to have much to rest on, is apt to confuse the subject, and lead to error. We may mention that the position of this town is erroneously described in both works. In the first it is placed as shown by Ptolemy, on what is now known as the Moat of Urr, and in the other work on the east bank of the Nith. The more probable site, however, is at Drumore, south-east of Kirkcudbright. The hill is 400 feet high, and the view from the site is very fine, command-

ing the sea as well as the surrounding country. It is only a fort in appearance, while the Moat of Urr, standing on low ground, shows that a more extensive fortified place had existed. We have to refer to 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway,' p. 190, vol. iv., for full particulars. We will again refer to the Novantæ and the Selgovæ as we go along. It is to be regretted that personal knowledge of Galloway (more or less) is wanting in the works referred to, which has prevented the subjects being accurately dealt with. This in 'Celtic Scotland' is shown by the statement that in Galloway there are no "*pens*," and pointing out "that the distinctive usage of *pen* and *ben* or *cenn* enables us to detect the line of demarcation between the Cymric and Gaelic forms of the same word." Also, "that in these laws the generic terms do not show the existence of a Cymric language in the district." This is decided enough, but is altogether erroneous as regards Galloway. The word *pen*, and sometimes in the corrupted form, *pin*, is to be found in different places in the district. Thus plain and unquestionable, it has, however, been asserted (by other writers) that they are corruptions of the Gaelic *beann* (a mountain, &c.), and even of *poll*. Pont, in his maps, has to some extent occasioned this, for he has rendered Penkill as Poolkill, and to several other streams in the same parish (Minnigaff) and elsewhere he gives *pool* and *poll* (sometimes *pil*) as prefixes. Pont, whose connection or knowledge of the district was principally of an outside character, drafted his maps between A.D. 1608-20. Being only a stream with

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no land so called, and therefore no record, when first known as Penkill is not to be traced, but doubtless Pont's spelling is erroneous, an occurrence not exceptional. We may mention that Pen-cil pronounced Penkill, is Cymric or Welsh, and a place-name which fully describes the situation previous to, and where the stream joins the Cree—hence the name. *Poll* is found as a prefix in Ireland to the names of streams, but it is irregular, for in Irish it strictly means a hole, a pit. It has, however, been applied to deep small pools of water and very deep holes in rivers and lakes, thus spreading as a prefix to streams. In most of the counties it only signifies a hole. In Gaelic it is found as *poll* and *puill*, and the principal meaning mire, &c., also a puddle, with other designations similar to the Irish. In Cymric or Welsh it is *poll*, a small pool, a pit. In Icelandic or Norse it is *pollr*, a pool, a pond; and in Anglo-Saxon, *pol*, a pool, a lake. In Scottish Lowland it is changed to *pow* or *pou*, pronounced *poo*, for a sluggish slow-running stream. It has other meanings, more or less connected therewith. We give the foregoing particulars to show that *pol* for a stream is irregular, for which there are other words in the different languages. So many being in Minnigaff parish is singular, and may have been given by the Irish-Scots as settlers, which, however, without authentic information we ascribe to Pont. It explains how words may have been misapplied in the names of places handed down, with after corruptions, and how much research is required before arriving at conclusions. Although the Cym-

ric *poll* in its pronunciation is similar to the ordinary word pull, same as pool, with a peculiar sound to the *ll* which cannot be written, yet the *pol*, *poll*, or *pool* used by Pont as prefixes are probably from the Gaelic or Erse. Pont's maps are very valuable, but like all past and present authors, he is not to be implicitly followed. In fact, many spellings are not accurate, although they can be followed by those with some knowledge of the subject. There are in the names of places, &c., in Galloway, many Cymric or Welsh words which do not appear to have been recognised as such, from the resemblance in spelling to similar words in Gaelic, which, from the present mania with some for the latter, has darkened and absorbed much that did exist, and carried to extirpation in 'Celtic Scotland,' in which we are told that the aborigines were Celts of the Goidelic or Gaelic race, who existed throughout.

The Novantæ we believe to have been of the Cymric race. They are supposed to have had their name from the Nith, although some distance from it, as we have already mentioned, which in Ptolemy's time was Novios. It is further stated in 'Early Britain, &c.' that Novios, if Celtic, was the word for new in all the dialects, but that the Brythons treated it as Novios or Novijos, and eventually made into the Welsh Newydd, new, and from some stage of this last was Nith got; but this could only happen through the medium of men who spoke Goidelic, and the writer supposes them to have been the Picts of Galloway, but as we will show hereafter, the people so named were not then

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in power in the district, and the name unknown. The Novantæ appear either to have succeeded the aborigines, or according to the old opinion, and, as we think, the correct one, to have driven out the Goidels or Gaels, who had become settlers for a time, and were thus forced to Ireland and northwards. The other Galloway race known as the Selgovæ or hunters, as has been written, were further to the east and north, and probably, as has been stated, gave to the Solway its name. It is to be noted that neither of the two tribes are called Picts in Roman times, which began to end about A.D. 410. St Ninian, who was located at Whithorn during their rule, and died there in A.D. 432, is mentioned by Bede to have been a native of North Wales, and Rhys calls him a Brython (Cymri). They therefore agree as to the saint's nationality, and both further agree in their statements that he laboured to convert the Picts of Galloway to Christianity; but, as we have already mentioned, in his time the natives were called the Novantæ and the Selgovæ, and not Picts, a term very questionable as having been previously applied to the natives, and certainly obsolete there, and in all other districts under Roman rule. Bede adds that they were also known as the Niduarie, or men of the Nith. This confusion of names arose from the difference of periods, and the absence of contemporary evidence, for Bede died three centuries after St Ninian had passed away, having been born in A.D. 673, and dying in 734; and further, as we have stated elsewhere, by his own account his whole life was spent in the neighbourhood of Jarrow, Northumberland,

undisturbed by absence or travel. To him, personally, Galloway was therefore unknown. Of the Novantæ, &c., we learn nothing after the departure of the Romans, who, as Cymri, must either have been absorbed by the dominant Scots from Ireland, or that such as would not remain, went further north, or to the east, and southwards, which latter is corroborated by the exodus under Constantine which we will again refer to. The Roman tenure, which extended over three centuries, we have already described; but, as stated by us, very little has been left to mark it, although held so long.

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It has also been mentioned that the Roman occupation embraced the greater part of the territories of the Brigantes, whose northerly limit certainly touched upon the Solway Firth in the north-west, while it did not probably fall far short of the Firth of Forth in the north-east. Elsewhere this is repeated by the statement that from the Humber to the Firths of Forth and Clyde the population was mainly comprised of the great nation of the Brigantes with its dependent tribes. A line drawn by Ptolemy from the Solway Firth across the country to the east coast, which exactly separated the Brigantes from the tribes in the north, is stated to be obviously artificial, as it follows the course of the Roman Wall, shortly before constructed by the Emperor Hadrian. This seems to be an erroneous conclusion, for Adrian or Hadrian only passed over to Britain in A.D. 120, and Ptolemy's Geography is believed to have been issued about, if not in the same year. The wall was not erected until about

THE BRI-
GANTES.

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Brigantes.*

A.D. 124. We refer to this particularly, as other modern writers have stated that Galloway at one period was called Brigantia, which appears to have emanated from Boethius, and it has so far been again repeated in 'Celtic Scotland' as to state that the Selgovæ were a Brigantian tribe. Holinshed, a trustworthy English writer, who died in 1536, aged seventy-one, states that "the opinion of the best learned is whollie contrarie thereunto, affirming the same Brigants, &c., not to be so far north by the distance of many miles as Hector Bœtius and others his countrymen place them, which thing in the historie of England we have also noted. . . . But, nevertheless, we have followed the course of the Scottish historie in manor, as it is written by the Scots themselves." We give this from the original, and thus corroborate Mackenzie, who, in his 'History of Galloway,' states "that the name Brigantia was ever anciently applied to Galloway appears more than questionable, for we know from good authority that the territories of the Brigantes, a considerable tribe of ancient Britons, lay in England." Camden, the English authority, fully describes their country as having comprised Yorkshire, Durham, Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland." Forbes-Leslie, in his 'Early Races of Scotland' mentions that they occupied the mountainous and woody districts from the Humber to the Solway. In regard to origin, Camden, quoting from Strabo, mentions the Brigantes, a people of the Alps. In England they became numerous and powerful. Both in 'Celtic Scotland' and in 'Early Britain, &c.,' it is conjectured that they became

established even north of the Forth and the Clyde. The Roman war with them began in A.D. 50, and their reduction was effected in 69 and 70. It was in A.D. 80 that Julius Agricola, in his third campaign, penetrated into Scotland as far as the Forth, &c., and in his fifth campaign, A.D. 82, to Galloway. If the Selgovæ were Brigantes, why do they not so appear by that name? It has been assumed that they were located south of, and kindred people were beyond the Forth and Clyde, although they appear under other names. It is asserted that they were composed of various tribes. There is a great deal of conjecture, and much that is opposed to Camden and other authorities, with nothing fresh in information to substantiate what is advanced. A quotation from Pausanias cannot apply to them, that Antoninus Pius (born in A.D. 86 and died in 161), had sufficiently chastised the Brigantes for making inroads into Genounia, a Roman province in Britain. It was in A.D. 139 that Lollius the lieutenant was sent to Scotland to drive back the northern tribes, where he erected the turf, &c., wall, for which he was surnamed Britannicus; and as quite another distinct event, he was also highly commended for taking from the Brigantes some part of their country. In 'Early Britain, &c.' Pausanias is described as stating that the Romans attacked the Brigantes because they invaded a people tributary to Rome, and called the Genunian division or cohort. In the translation given it is rendered, "But he (the Emperor Antoninus) took from the Brigantes in Britannia a great deal of their land, because they had made hostile incur-

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sions on the Venuvians who were the allies of the Romans." In this version we have them called the Venuvians, which seems to have some affinity with the Latin Venedotia already given by us. Camden's opinion is, "that if read Genouthia for Genounia, that word comes so near Guinethia, and this Guinethia (or Gwynedh) borders so much on the country of the Brigantes, that unless Pausanias means this country some oracle must find out for us what country he means." The country to which the foregoing applies is in North Wales, and pertained to the Ordivices, called in Latin Gwynedhia and Venedotia, and in British Gwynedh. In 'Early Britain, &c.,' the statement of Pausanias¹ in his 'Description of Greece' has obtained credence, but we cannot see that it bears on the point wished to be brought out. It does not appear that Pausanias was ever in Britain, and the passage conveys but little. The translation by Camden is that "Antoninus Pius deprived the Brigantes of much of their lands because they began to make incursions into Genounia, a region under the jurisdiction of the Romans." This may refer to Agricola, who in A.D. 78 completely subdued the Ordivices, and in 79 the lands of some of the Brigantian tribes were overrun and fortresses erected among them. In support of the passage applying to Scotland in 'Early Britain, &c.,' reference is made

¹ Pausanias, a Greek topographical writer, who taught at Athens, and afterwards at Rome, where he died. His 'Descriptio Græciæ' is a kind of journal of his travels, in which he describes everything remarkable in Greece. His writings have been considered as difficult to follow from his peculiar style.

to what Adamnan relates, that not long after Columba's coming to Britain he crossed to Drumalbay on a mission to Brude, King of the Picts, whose stronghold was near the river Ness, probably not far from its mouth. That, speaking in the Goidelic (Gaelic) language to him and his men, he had no difficulty in making himself understood, but to peasants or plebeians, as stated, he had to preach through an interpreter. However, as a Celtic scholar (Professor Mackinnon) has mentioned, "An educated Goidel might make himself understood in one locality though not in another. The fact that an interpreter was once or twice employed by St Columba implies that ordinarily there was no occasion for the services of such a person." This can be or should be understood by most inquirers. It is also related that when at the Isle of Skye two young men brought their aged father to be baptised, when the interpreter had again to be in attendance. This old man is described as the chief of the Geonians, called by Adamnan Geona Cohors, which as supposed refers to the people on the mainland called Cerones in the MS. of Ptolemy's Geography. A supposition is thereon started that the word Genunia may be of Pictish origin, Geona Cohors being Geonia Cohort, and that Cohors is only to be explained by the Goidelic word it was meant to render, with the result that the latter can have been no other than *dál*, a division or part. The conclusion therefrom arrived at in 'Early Britain—Celtic Britain,' is that the Genunians cannot have been Brythons; and if that is correct, they can hardly have been any other people

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than the dwellers between the Solway, Esk, and Loch Ryan. That in fact they seem to have been the same people that appear later as Attacotti, and later still as the Picts of Galloway. That they were a highly indomitable race and seldom on good terms with their Brythonic neighbours, so it is by no means probable that they had as yet fought it out with the Romans." We have to remark in regard to this perversion of history that the country referred to comprised modern Wigton and Kirkcudbright shires, *alias* Galloway, and was possessed by the Novantæ and the Selgovæ in Roman times. It therefore seems to us to be a strange arrangement of history, so far as known, for the scene in the Isle of Skye, as described by Adamnan, to be transferred to Galloway, the most southern point of Scotland, the distance between the two places by sea or land being over 170 miles, which in the times referred to must have occupied several days to travel. The next point is that Columba was not at Iona for over fifty years after the departure of the Romans from Galloway, and the Attacotti are never found mentioned in the district, or indeed in any other part of Scotland. We will again refer to this, and, although it cannot affect the question about the Brigantes, meanwhile will relate a curious story which appears in Camden's 'Britannia' in connection with Agricola's campaign. It is that when he advanced into Scotland in A.D. 80, a cohort of Usipians, raised in Germany and sent over to Britain, mutinied, killed their commander, and some soldiers who were attached to give them instruction, or in modern phrase to drill them. They

then fled and embarked in three vessels, compelling the masters to carry them off, but only one obeying, the other two were slain. Afterwards, being tossed up and down, and falling upon some Britons who opposed them in their own defence, often conquerors and sometimes conquered, they underwent great privations. They floated round Britain, &c. Where they started from is not mentioned. It is a confused account, for of the three vessels only one is followed, ending in being taken by the Suevians and then by the Frisians, for pirates. Some were bought by the merchants, and by change of masters were again brought to Britain. Such is the story in brief form, and not an improbable one. With so much conjecture now being raised and rife in regard to early history, we may start the supposition that some of the men of this cohort were the individuals, or their offspring, who required the interpreter when Columba preached to them. It is as probable as the statement of the aborigines still being in existence as a people or nation, and retaining their original language in the sixth century, yet unknown to the Goidels, &c. It may be remarked that the strength of a cohort was about six hundred men, about the tenth part of a legion, and if they mutinied in a body what became of them all, for although possible, it is rather improbable that the three vessels seized could have contained them. The number was about the same as the present home strength of an infantry regiment on the peace establishment, but the transport accommodation was not then what it now is. Some Norse war-vessels were capable of taking two

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hundred men, but that such were captured is most improbable.

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The Attacotti having been prominently brought forward in the foregoing remarks, we must enter on their history, which has given rise to many conjectures. Why it should have been so is difficult to understand, for Irish history supplies the necessary information. No doubt a great deal of it in the early periods is called "legendary," and probably it is so, but still legends usually convey truth. Intercommunication between Hibernia and Alba seems to have been constant from the earliest known times, and throughout the Roman occupation, between A.D. 82 and, say, 410. With such knowledge, to suppose that Galloway and Ireland were isolated from each other, no one surely will be bold enough to advance. In fact, the reverse is corroborated by an Irish king being with Agricola when he was in the district, as mentioned by Tacitus, and the period agreeing, Connollan therefore appears to be correct in believing that the said king was Tuathal (*i.e.*, the legitimate), son of King Fiacha Fionn-Ola, whom he succeeded in A.D. 76. He was, however, an exile at the time referred to, and known in Ireland as Tuathal-Teachmar. His most determined foes were the Aitheach-Tuatha, a numerous people scattered over Ireland, descendants of the Firbolg and other settlers, who were treated as a servile helot class by the dominant Scoti. As recorded, Tuathal fought 133 battles in the different provinces against this people, whom he in the end reduced to

obedience; and he ruled over Ireland for thirty years. The Latinised name for the Aitheach-Tuatha is Attacotti—the people in regard to whom so many wild statements have been made. Mac-Firbis (p. 157) states: “The Attacotti, a tribe of Firbolgs (Belgic race), the remnants of whom, wherever they were seated, were styled Aitheachs—*i.e.*, Attacotti or plebeians—by their conquerors. Their district was called ‘Attacotti district,’ or a district not in possession of freemen of the Scotie or Milesian blood. Anglicised, a portion is now called Tonaghty, a small parish near Beal Atha-na-lub, or Newbrook, in the barony of Carra.” We may observe that the term Scotie, as used above, is questioned by us elsewhere. It is also mentioned in Irish history that this people, being sorely oppressed, about A.D. 9, treacherously murdered most of the Milesian provincial kings and chiefs, &c., and set up a king of their own race named Cairbri-Cean-Cait, who ruled Ireland for five years. The Irish records mention various expeditions to Britain and Gaul, as allies of the Picts and Britons in their wars with the Romans, commencing as early as 129 B.C., which is evidently wrong, for the first landing of the Romans in Albion was in 55 B.C.; and as regards Scotland, not until A.D. 80. In connection with Scottish history, the Attacotti are first mentioned in the fourth century, when they are known to have joined the Roman legions as auxiliaries, and were sent abroad, which was the policy of the Romans, who received recruits from all parts. With much that is valuable in the Irish records, there is also

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much very questionable information, and of this latter kind is that the Attacotti joined the Picts and Britons in their opposition to the Romans prior to the time of Agricola. What is mentioned appears to relate to the fourth century, and also that Crimthann-Nial-Nar who reigned from A.D. 7 to 9, has been confused with Crimthann who began to reign in A.D. 365, and preceded Niall (Mor of the nine hostages), who succeeded in 378 as King of Ireland, and so continued until 405. It is specially mentioned that the latter made incursions into Britain (Alba), in one of which he encountered Stilicho in command of a legion, who repelled him and his Scots (Irish). In those incursions he is stated to have had many of the Attacotti in his army, who, being the natural enemies of his (Niall's) family, deserted, and were incorporated in the Roman legions. Two bands of them are afterwards found with others (called barbarian troops, Moors, &c.) embodied under the title of "Honorians," and employed in the Spanish war. From other sources similar information is also gathered; and that about A.D. 367 a great rising took place from the Clyde to the Thames, &c., to be free from Roman rule. It was put down, when the Picts and Scots (Irish) were driven back beyond the northern wall; and the Attacotti, from being enemies, were afterwards the soldiers of Valentinian. On this occasion the old barrier from the Clyde to the Forth was restored, after the country between it and Hadrian's barrier was recovered by Theodosius (father of Theodosius the emperor), all of which was effected by A.D. 370. Afterwards the

Picts and Scots (Irish) again broke through the barrier, and a Roman legion was sent, which repulsed them. In further elucidation, it may be stated that Stilicho, already mentioned, was a general (he afterwards rose to high position) in the service of the Emperor Theodosius, surnamed the Great, who died in A.D. 395. It is also known that St Jerome—who mentions having (when a youth) seen the Attacotti in Gaul as Roman auxiliaries, and relates a questionable story about their taste for human flesh—lived in the same century (the fourth), having been born in 332. Jerome did not see what he relates, but only heard of it. Such a subject should not have been dealt with, in writing, in so loose a way. From no corroborative evidence being traceable from other sources, the conclusion is that he was imposed on. There is thus contemporary evidence from different sources of the Attacotti and their doings in the fourth century; and it is evident that their first known appearance in Alba was in the north, and not in the south or south-west. Bede, who only wrote from hearsay, having been born 233 years after the supposed date of expulsion, states that they were in Scotland in A.D. 258, and expelled by the Picts about 440. This period also includes the fourth century. Richard of Cirencester (so named from his native place, and a monk of the Abbey of St Peter, Westminster), who died in A.D. 1401, has topographically placed them in Argyll and Dumbarton shires. Camden, in a map entitled "Britannia Romana," shows them as being in Aberdeenshire. Richard's work has been called

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spurious by some writers; but he certainly located the Attacotti near the old frontier barrier, in breaking through which they acted with the Scoti (Irish) and the northern Picts, &c. We are inclined to believe that they were not settlers in Scotland at any period, but mere mercenaries from Ireland, ready for war and spoil. There is not a trace of them to be found in Galloway. If they had been the inhabitants, as recently, and for the first time, suggested in 'Early Britain—Celtic Britain,' the Novantæ and the Selgovæ would not have been so called by the Romans. Neither would King Tuathal-Teachmar have fled there as an exile, for the inhabitants would have been of the same race whom we have shown were his enemies in Ireland. It seems very clear that a mistake has been made in 'Early Britain, &c.,' in attempting to locate them in Galloway, unless it can be proved that Irish history on the subject is all wrong, which we do not think can be done. Galloway, for long having been considered a *terra incognita*, has made it a field for all sorts of speculative ideas, and the fitting in stray kings, &c., who cannot be recognised and given their proper position elsewhere.

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We now come to another period, when the people from Ireland already mentioned became settlers in the district, and colonised it. Chalmers, in his 'Caledonia,' refers to this, which in 'Celtic Scotland' is repudiated, with the remark that there is not a vestige of authority for such colonisation. We agree with Chalmers, but not as to the period given by him, for this exodus to Galloway is more

likely to have commenced in the sixth rather than the end of the eighth century, and to have continued more or less to the eleventh century. There cannot be a doubt of such colonisation when the subject is gone carefully into. There appears to have been continuous intercourse between Hibernia and Alba from the earliest times; but there were special causes in the kingdom of Ulster, the ancient capital of which was Armagh, fully accounting for it. The Annals of Ireland give considerable information in regard to the ancient Kings of Ulster, and their struggle to retain their territory. O'Donovan, in 1851, refers to them as Kings of Emania, and the most heroic and ancient line of princes that Irish history has preserved,—whose history is more certain than that of any other line of princes handed down. They are stated to have been the lineal descendants of Ir, the fifth son of Milesius of Spain, but the second of the three sons who left any issue, and to have settled in Ulster. The said sons were Heber-Fionn, Ir, and Heremon. We of course can only repeat what is related, which is that Prince Ir was one of the chief leaders of the expedition undertaken for the conquest of Ireland, but a violent storm scattered the fleet while in search for a landing-place, and the vessel commanded by him was separated from the others, and driven upon the island, since called Scellig-Mhicheal, off the Kerry coast, where she was wrecked, and all on board lost. Heber Donn, his son, born in Spain, was, however, granted by Heber and Heremon, his uncles, the possession of the northern part of Ireland, now called Ulster. This

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is stated to have occurred B.C. 1700, so that to prove it by research is scarcely to be thought of. A writer ('Scottish Myths'), sceptical in regard to this origin, suggests that presumably the ninth or Spanish legion, which was twice defeated in Scotland, and disappears from history after Agricola's last campaign, is the sole ground of the story of the colonisation of Ireland from Milesius, inferring that those who survived passed over to Ireland. This may have escaped the notice of Tacitus and other Roman writers, but the discipline believed to exist was not then on the wane. The subject, however, is beyond research, and one we will not pursue further. Whatever their origin may have been, the Irian kings as rulers of Ulster had their palace at Aileach (which name is the Erse for a stone building) in Donegal, until the time of Ciombaeth, who at the queen's desire built the great house known as Eamhuin or Emania (Armagh), and made it the chief residence. The first of this line who attained the dignity of Ardriagh, or monarch of Ireland, was Prince Rudhraighe or Ruadhic Mor in 288 B.C. He was so much honoured by his people that the old name of Irians was dropped for Rudricians. This line of kings existed for 600 years, and thirty-one of them, from Ciombaeth to Fergus Fogha, occupied the palace of Eamhuin. It may be mentioned here that the supreme kingship or monarchy of Ireland was not hereditary, but chosen from themselves—viz., the kings of the provinces. The desire shown by Irish writers, even of the present day, to trace the origin of the people, and give descents that

convey the fabulous in the most glaring form, makes it difficult to follow them. For example, we are told in a recent work that B.C. 1440 all the inhabitants of Scotland were brought under the subjection of the Irish monarchy. One thing is admitted, that there were various races in Ireland at an early period. The desire, however, that they should all be considered Celtic is questionable. We refer to it here, as the Irians, or Rudhraighe sept, became amalgamated with the Dalriatach tribe, as described in 'Celtic Scotland.' "The province of Ulster, where an ancient Pictish population was encroached upon, and gradually superseded by Scottish tribes, exhibits the remarkable peculiarity of an alternate succession of the Kings of Ulster between a family descended from its old Pictish kings, and one of the earliest colonies of Scots, that of the Dalriatach who settled among them." We give this extract, for unfortunately we cannot always follow the learned writer on other points. A recent Irish writer mentions that Fiacha Fionn led a numerous colony of the Heremonian sept into Ulster, who overcame the natives (the Rudhraighe, &c.), and seized a great part of the country from them. This seems to be correct; but the Dalriatach were Irish-Scoti, whereas the Heremonians were of the same origin as the Irians or Rudhraighe, who are said to have lost so much territory, and became united with the Dalriatach. The latter sept was distinct from the other two mentioned, who were of Milesian descent, so called, and although non-Celtic, are yet called Celtic, and that Ireland was Scotia, the Scotie-Irish nation, or

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the land of the Scots, as termed by various Latin writers, and that Scotia, as a name, was obtained from the Milesian colony which came from Spain B.C. 1700. Yet it has been admitted that Erin (from Ivernian) is the more ancient name for Ireland. It was only in the third century that the celebrated philosopher Porphyry of Tyre (the first writer recorded) gave to the Irish the name of Scoti, as quoted by Jerome. The aforementioned Fiacha Fionn became the 104th monarch of Ireland, reigning for seventeen years, until slain by Eiliomh MacConrach, of the race of Ir, who succeeded him on the throne. He is said to have married Eithne, daughter of the King of Alba, who being near her confinement when her husband died, she went to Scotland, and her son Tuathal-Teachmar was born there. When grown up he went to Ireland, and became the 106th monarch, after fighting in Ulster, Leinster, Connaught, and Munster. We have already mentioned this king in connection with the Attacotti, and that he was the son of Fiacha Fionn, whose father was Feredach Fionn Feachtach, the 102d monarch of Ireland, who died a natural death at the regal city at Tara in A.D. 36. Again, Feredach's father was Crimthann-Niadh-Nar, the 100th monarch, and styled "The Heroic." He is said to have married Nar-Tath-Chaach, daughter of Laoch Ion of Daire, who lived in the land of the Picts, Scotland. We ought to state that some of the foregoing details are taken from O'Hart's work, and which we will continue to avail ourselves of, when it can be done, for we do not always agree with him.

We have principally to deal with Ulster, which, in the fourth century, became the scene of more than usual turmoil. It arose from Fergus Fogha, then king of the province, having given offence to Muredach Tirech, Ardrioh, or supreme King of Ireland, who, as is related, recalled from Alba his three nephews, the Collas, banished there in A.D. 326, with some followers. They thereupon returned to Hibernia with auxiliaries to wage war against the offending King of Ulster, whose army, in 332, they defeated at Fernay (Monaghan), slaying him and three of his sons. It may be mentioned here that Caolbha, son of Crunbhadroi, and uncle of Fergus Fogha, was the 123d monarch of Ireland, and the last monarch of the line of Ir. In A.D. 357 he also was slain by (the 124th monarch) Eochy Moyvone, of the line of Heremon. It is erroneously stated that his son Saraan was the last King of Ulster of the Irian line. It was in his time the three brothers called "The Three Collas," with the Heremonian power of Leinster and Connaught, invaded Ulster, and destroyed the regal city of Emania, forcing the natives eastwards, and by degrees forming for themselves (the Heremonians, &c., and their posterity, the O'Neills) the kingdom called Orgiall. It may be added, however, that their descendants had their day of retribution, for after continuing in power for some generations, the natives overcame them, when some settled in the present Queen's County, &c. However, to continue the early history, as we will show, the Dalfiatach became dominant; and Congal-Claen was the last of the Irian race of kings, in direct male descent,

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in their reduced position as Kings of Ulidia. The reference to Saraan being the last king may be that he was the last who was king over Ulster when they were being driven eastwards, and formed the smaller kingdom of Ulidia. Anyhow, with the battle in A.D. 332, when King Fergus-Feogh or Fogha was slain, commenced the dismemberment of the ancient kingdom of Uladh (Ulster), and the rise of the Hy-Niall and kindred tribes, when the first-named, about A.D. 914, became known as the O'Neills. The name Uladh continued, however, to be applied to the whole territory until the fifth century, when the Ulidians were finally driven into Eastern Ulster (Antrim, Down, with a portion of Derry). The people were composed, as already mentioned, of two tribes, the Rudhraighe and Dal-fiatach, which at an early period became ingrafted, and from each alternately were the Kings of Ulster taken. They also gave many supreme kings to Ireland. The Dal-fiatach ultimately became the leading tribe, its chief family furnishing more than three-fourths of its kings during a period of seven centuries. When the Ulidians from the west were driven to Antrim and Down, &c., that district was divided into two parts—viz., Dalriada and Dalara-dia. The first extended from the north coast to Lough Neagh southwards, together with a part of Derry. The name has been ascribed as given from Cairbre Riada, son of Conaire II., King of Ireland in the second century. The second and southern portion extended from Lough Neagh, &c., in Antrim, to Newry in Down, in which the inhabitants were called the Dalnaraidhe, and their territory

Dalaradia. The name is stated to be derived from Araidhe, a King of Ulster in the third century. In both cases the prefix *dál* is for "portion of." The foregoing was the country into which the inhabitants of Western Ulster were driven, and where they retained their nationality as the kingdom of Uladh. The Dalnaraidhe in Dalaradia were a kindred race with the Irians or Rudhraighe, the descendants of Ruadhri Mor, Ardrigh or supreme King of Ireland, 288 B.C.; and stated to be the old Cruithne (Picts), the original inhabitants of Ulster. Colgan considers them the same as the Tuatha de Danaan. They are said to have been of Scythian origin, and to have invaded Ireland thirty-six years after the settlement of the Firbolgs; and to them is to be traced the light-hearted feelings of the Irish character. The Dalfiatach, who shared Ulster with the Rudhraighe, as we have mentioned already, were Irish-Scoti, the descendants of Fiatach-Fionn, who became Ardrigh of Ireland, and died in A.D. 36. They occupied the southern portion of Dalaradia, and were of the same race as those in Dalaradia, North Antrim. Although specially only applying to the Rudhraighe or Clan-na-Rory, both tribes came to be known by the more ancient designation of Cruithne or Picts. When Antrim and Down, &c., were thus taken possession of as the headquarters of the Western Ulidians, a redundant population in those parts must consequently have been the result, with so limited a territory. This is easy to understand: even allowing that all the people did not move eastwards, it can be followed that an outlet was necessary.

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Dugald MacFirbis states: "The Dal-Fiatachs, who were old Kings of Ulster, and blended with the Clan-na-Rory, were hemmed into a narrow corner of the province by the race of Conn of the Hundred Battles—*i.e.*, the Orghialla and Hy-Niall of the north—and that even this narrow corner was not left to them, so that they had nearly been extinguished, except a few of them who left the original territory." MacFirbis continues, "This is the case with the Gael of Ireland in the year of our Lord 1666, but God is wide in a strait." The narrow corner not even retained, refers to the disastrous battle in A.D. 1095, which culminated in the following century by the O'Neills becoming supreme, and the Clanaboy branch subduing nearly the whole of Ulidia. O'Donovan states that the Dalfiatach tribe had sent forth numerous colonies, who settled in various parts of Ireland (Book of Rights). It will thus be seen that to those in North Antrim, the Mull of Cantyre, only fourteen miles distant, being in sight, and with countrymen already settled in Argyllshire, easy means offered for leaving Hibernia; and, as recorded, a colony passed over in A.D. 498, under the leadership of Fergus Mor MacEarca, from whom, as stated, descended the Scottish monarchs, which line may be considered to have ended with Alexander III., in A.D. 1286, as strangers, not very near, through females, then succeeded. Thus the new colony of Dalriada was founded in Argyllshire. There is not such special mention to be found of the southern movement, but there cannot be a doubt that in the same way the Irish-Scoti in Down,

&c.—Southern Dalaradia—being opposite to Galloway, only twenty-two miles distant, and always more or less to be seen, except in thick weather, it offered an inducement for them to pass over there, and more particularly as communication seems to have existed previously with Galloway, which there is reason to believe was constant. That such an exodus took place is supported by the people found in Galloway after the Roman period. As we have already mentioned, Chalmers, in his 'Caledonia,' gives the period of the settlement in the ninth and tenth centuries; but we consider that it must have begun about the same time as the emigration to Argyllshire, while it was of a more gradual character, extending over several centuries, and not an immediate rush, which will account for not a vestige of authority as argued by Dr Skene. It is, however, mentioned in the Pictish Chronicle that the settlement was made about A.D. 850 by stratagem, when they slew the chief inhabitants, which latter statement is likely enough; but this conveys that they had been in Galloway for some time, and had become numerous, thus supporting what we have mentioned, that the colonisation had been gradual. This information is of value, as it supports, and in return is corroborated by, what we give in our account of Strath-Cluyd (p. 93, &c.) in regard to the exodus of the Cymri to Wales in 876, after their subjugation in Galloway. We have further to refer to what has been already mentioned, that the Irish-Scoti in Argyllshire, and those in Galloway, were of kindred race—the first-named continuing to be

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subject to the Kings of Uladh for a considerable period after settlement there, and to whom tribute was paid. This is specially recorded when Baetain or Baiden MacCairill (Dalriatach clanna) was king, who seems to have been a powerful ruler, as more particulars of his reign have been handed down than of any other monarch. It would appear that in his time, Ædan, King of Dalriada, had revolted; for it is on record that he submitted himself to, and accompanied, King Baiden MacCairill in his expedition to the Orkney Isles. It is also mentioned that the latter cleared Manand of the Gauls; so that the sovereignty belonged to the Ultonians (Ulidians) thenceforth. This information is of much interest, for it appears to have been the district between the rivers Avon and Carron, in Stirlingshire, as mentioned by Mr Skene in 'The Four Ancient Books of Wales.' The statement of the Gauls being the inhabitants makes it obvious that they were then still so far south. King Baiden MacCairill also fought a great battle in A.D. 578, to try and recover the whole of Ulster. He died in 582. His son Fiachna appears to have followed his father as a warrior of note. In the latter's lifetime, A.D. 573, is recorded the battle of Tola, in which he defeated the Ossomans and Eliens; and in 597, in the battle of Sliabh Cua, in Munhan, he was again victorious, and fettered the hostages of Erin and Alban. Again, in 602, he conquered at the battle of Cuil Cails, and in 608 he met his death by the Cruithne, which has been considered to mark the separation of the Irish Picts or Cruithne of Dalriada from all connection with the king-

dom of the Picts in Scotland. We are inclined, however, to believe that the distinctions between the latter, and between the Rudhraighe and the Dalriatach tribes, the first as the ancient Cruithne, and the latter as Irish-Scots, were lost sight of when this statement was made. After the death of King Baiden MacCairill in 582, with two intermediate kings of no special note, Congal-Claen, son of Scanlan of the Broad Shield, became the ruler of Ulidia; and he was the last of the Irian line of kings in direct male descent from Ruadhri-Mor. When Domhnall, or Donall, was aspiring to become monarch of Ireland, which he attained in A.D. 623, he had promised to Congal-Claen to restore to him Uladh in its entirety, as possessed by his ancestors in ancient times. This promise was not fulfilled; and, as related, it so exasperated Congal-Claen that he aspired to the supreme kingship, and was, as to be expected, furiously opposed by Domhnall, the reigning monarch. The struggle involved the whole of Ireland in great turmoil. In the first battle, Congal-Claen was defeated and driven into exile, where he remained for nine years; and during that period, as stated, he collected an army of Picts, Britons, Saxons, and men from Alba, with whom he crossed over to Ireland in A.D. 637, landing at Dundrum, County Down. The auxiliaries mentioned require some notice, for, as given, the list is rather apt to confuse, more particularly as Congal-Claen has been supposed to have taken refuge in Galloway, where many of his countrymen had settled, and became known as Picts, from those of his own race (the Rudhraighe) having

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been so called. The Britons can be accounted for as a remnant of the Cymri still in the district, with others further north in Carrick, &c., all being a part of the Strathclyde kingdom; but as to the Saxons, the term, as on various other occasions, seems to have been misapplied. Of the Anglo-Saxons, &c., we will deal separately hereafter. After the landing at Dundrum, the result was the famous battle at Mag-Ruth, which was then fought against the Ui Niall and numerous clannas to recover Ulster in its entirety. Congal was defeated and slain, with many Ulidians and foreigners. The latter would be the auxiliaries from Scotland. It is called one of the greatest conflicts ever fought in Ireland. Many other minor battles in Ulidia are recorded. Internal dissension followed, and culminated in a battle fought in 979, in which the combatants are distinguished as the Ulidians and the Dal-Araidhe, when their king, Ædh MacLoingseach, was slain. Another battle between them was fought in 1016, but the most important was in 1095, described as a great victory gained at Ard-Achadh (Ardagh, Antrim) by the Dal-Araidhe over the Ulidians. In the different ancient records the only one mentioned is Gillachomhghaill ua Cairill, and a great host along with him, as slain. In the Annals compiled by Father O'Clery so recently as the seventeenth century, Lochlain ua Cairill is also mentioned as slain; but when revised in 1857 by O'Donovan, he corrected this by quoting the ancient Annals, those of Ulster and Loch Cé, which only name Gillachomhghaill ua Cairill.

From other Irish sources it is known that after the defeat the said Lochlain ua Cairill crossed over to Scotland, and settled in Colmonell parish, Carrick, Ayrshire, near to Girvan. The battle at Ardagh brought a crisis, and the clanna Neill, which had risen on the decline of the Rudhraighe and Dalfiatach clannas, took advantage of it. In 1099 they invaded the reduced kingdom of the Ulidians, and again defeated them, when Domhnall ua Neill was declared king. The tree called Crabh-Tulcha, under which the Kings of Ulidia had been inaugurated, was cut down. As a kingdom, it continued to struggle on in a disjointed crippled state for about another century, when Ireland's subjugation to England took place. In giving this outline of some of the doings in Ulster, it applies more or less to what transpired in the other provinces. It is erroneous to suppose that as a nation the Irish even in early times were of one race. They were of various races, and even those of Celtic origin differed considerably, but in time all became as one in dialect, ideas, and customs. Also in Hibernia and Alba the Erse or Gaelic language was one and the same, which time afterwards changed. The position of the Norsemen (called Danes, but at first principally Norwegians) was powerful from an early period, and specially so from the eighth century. Their blood intermingled, as in Scotland and England. Their hold of Ireland was so strong, that a coinage was issued from mints in Dublin and elsewhere. Their great power was largely weakened at the battle of Clontarf, close to Dublin, in A.D. 1014. The idea,

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however, that they were driven out of Ireland is erroneous, for their settlements were scattered over the country, and where they remained. The curse of Ireland was its subdivisions, with kings over each, and the election by themselves of one of their number to be the Ardrigh or supreme king. The result of so many kings with descendants as princes, &c., was thirst for power—fathers, sons, brothers, and kinsmen slaying each other as a matter of business to obtain a throne or the chiefship of their septs. In subsequent times, King Henry VIII. tried to force the Protestant Church of England on the people, which, there cannot be a doubt, added fuel to the keeping up of discontent and disturbance. We will again refer to this, but before concluding, another of Ireland's curses since its subjugation has been that the settlers from England, &c., instead of showing a proper example, became, and still become, deluded with the idea that they are Irishmen, and to support the assumed character, they do not allay turmoil; but under their delusion, to prove being Irish, they aid in stirring up the people to discontent and insubordination. This arises from the silly desire to be considered Irishmen. However, without the blood by male lineage, they are mere colonists, and the real Irish should treat them as such. Subdued and annexed in A.D. 1172, Ireland has no right to have Home Rule as a separate country.

To return to our main subject as regards Galloway, we have entered on particulars to prove, as far as can be done, that the colonisation of the district by the Irish-Scots is not a myth, but can be

accepted as a fact. The Scoti and the Cruithne from Ireland, who settled in the district, were of the ancient races mentioned, who had held for centuries the whole of Ulster, and ultimately, through reverses, only retained Antrim and Down, with part of Derry. The Irian or Rudhraighe sept were called of Milesian origin, but, as we have shown, it has been questioned. The desire to make Ireland the leading country in early times, has caused it to be called Scotia, as obtained from the Milesian colony supposed to have arrived from Spain B.C. 1700; but Porphyry of Tyre, in the third century, was the first to mention the "Scoticæ gentes" (the Scottish people), referring to a people so called in Ireland. From the earliest times the island was known as Hibernia in various forms. In the same way the Picts, or Cruithne in Irish, are stated to have come from Thrace in the reign of the Milesian monarch Heremon, and to have landed at Inver-Slainge (the Bay of Wexford) under two leaders, Gud and Cathluan; but not being permitted to settle in Ireland, they sailed to Alban, or that part of North Britain now called Scotland,—their chiefs having been supplied by Heremon with wives from among the widows of the Tuath-de-Danaans, slain by the Milesians in their conquest of Ireland. The Cruithneans thus became possessed of North Britain, and founded there the kingdom of the Picts, &c. Of course we only relate this. Again, the Brigantes in Ireland are called the Clann-na-Breoghain, Latinised to Brigantes, and that they arrived in Ireland with the Milesians, of whom they were a branch, and

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were powerful and numerous tribes. Those in Britain are said to have been of the same origin, who first went to Ireland in very remote times, and some of whom emigrating to Britain became a powerful people. The conclusion is that those of Spain, Ireland, and Britain were Celts or Celts-Scythians, and spoke a dialect of the Celtic language. We have already given an account of this people in Britain.

We refer to these matters, as without particulars the subject cannot be properly followed by those who may read it, and because they are all the more or less connected with the elucidation of Galloway history; for what has been, and still is, current with Irish writers in regard to the origin of the various races, is not in many instances borne out in these times of closer investigation. The story of the Picts having been a special people is erroneous, for the name was not generic, but from tattooing, or staining the body with vegetable juices, which we have already fully treated in our notice of the Picts in a general sense in Ireland, Scotland, and England. The name of Scots having been brought to Ireland from Spain is equally untenable, as, whatever the source, it was certainly unknown in Ireland long after the alleged Milesian colonisation, and first appeared coupled with the Goidels or Gaels, who were distinct from the Milesians, and wherever settled they became for a time the dominant people in Ireland.

From what we have mentioned, the popular idea that the Irish are a special people from the earliest to the present time should be dispelled. There has

been much blending of blood in Ireland. Another mistake is the supposition that the present inhabitants of Ulster are foreigners to the soil, whereas they are largely the descendants of those ancient Irish-Scots who had settled in Galloway, some of whom again returned during the Plantation in Ulster (1608-1620), and many others who fled to Ulster during the persecution in the same century. In the agitation in Ireland for the expulsion of the present landlords, it has escaped notice that the agitators, with one or two exceptions, possess surnames unknown in Irish history, or as the descendants of the possessors of lands at any period. We would class most of them as Anglo-Saxon, although there is an unfortunate tendency to work out English and Scottish surnames as Irish, asserting that they had been Anglicised. If the soil is to belong to natives only, surely with their patriotic feelings they will scour the globe for the descendants of the real old Irish who used to rule, or were the owners of territory. Many of them are now out of Ireland. Also, if such a revolution is to be enacted in Ireland, those ancient Galwegians who remain, and the Gaels in the Highlands, have an equal right, for the most of the present proprietors in both localities are the descendants of Anglo-Normans and Flemings, &c. The same rule might to some extent be extended to the Lowlands of Scotland, and also to England. The whole matter thus put resolves into, and shows it to be based on nonsense, for race after race robbed each other, and if real justice is to be done, legislators must go back to the aborigines, and can the

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agitators tell where their descendants are to be found.

As mentioned by us, the distance between the County Down and Galloway is twenty-two miles, and thus only eight miles further off than Antrim from Cantyre, and both to be seen from Ireland. As we have already stated, the emigration to Galloway must have been gradual, and spread over centuries, until the Ulster settlers were so numerous as to become the dominant people. It is to be remembered that the Strathclyde kingdom came into existence about A.D. 547-8, which fully accounts for the absence of information in regard to the erroneous supposition that Galloway was an independent district, with rulers of its own. This continued until A.D. 1018, when Strathclyde as a kingdom came to an end; but the Norsemen then got full possession of and sway over Galloway, which continued for about two centuries, until the Kings of Scotland were fully established, and ruled over the whole kingdom, as since known. The popular idea that Galloway was all along a kingdom in itself is purely ideal, and without the slightest basis for it. We will again refer to this. In the meantime we wish to direct attention to the close communication which evidently existed between Galloway and Ireland from the earliest times. It is easily understood from being such close neighbours. There also cannot be a doubt that the statement which eminent writers, &c., have handed down is virtually correct, that the Goidels or Gaels were the first Celtic inhabitants, who absorbed the aborigines as the situations or circumstances demanded, and who

in turn were next dislodged by the Cymri, and other Celtic fresh hordes who flocked into Britain, driving the said Goidels northwards, and across to Ireland. If other proof were wanting, we have it in the surnames, and the names of places, many of which are common to both Galloway and Ireland, being found on both sides of the Channel. It is also not to be forgotten that, as Roger de Hovedon relates, the Galwegians at the Battle of the Standard in A.D. 1138 used the war-cry "Albanach! Albanach!" thus identifying themselves as Irish-Scots; for to the present time the Irish call the people of Scotland Albanach and Albanaigh. It also extends further, for as Irish-Scots its use implied that they considered they had returned to the land of their fathers, and were entitled to be called Scotsmen, which is the Gaelic meaning of the word. Hovedon, having lived at the time, is thus contemporary evidence, and it is related that he was sent on a mission to Scotland. Another name given to the natives was "The wild Scots of Galloway." When first so called we do not learn, but it may be considered as semi-modern. Sir Walter Scott refers to them in "Marmion," as "Galwegians wild as ocean gale." We have them called Picts by Bede, who lived from 673 to 735, and they retained this appellation when it was obsolete in other parts of Scotland. In fact, it has been stated that they bore it at the Battle of the Standard; and if this is correct, it is scarcely to be believed that they then painted or tattooed themselves. It must then have become a generic term. This must have arisen from the Rudhraighe having been

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so called, who were the ancient Cruithne, or Irish Picts, and it was extended to the Dalriatach, Irish-Scots, from the two septs having united. Being called Picts by Bede, &c., did not arise from any known connection with those so named in the north of Scotland, as has been assumed. They were distinct. When dropped as Goidels (Gael), they became known as "The wild Scots of Galloway," again showing them to be a special people distinct from those in the North.

We have also to refer to King Alpin's move from Argyllshire towards Galloway. It has been termed by some writers an invasion. We cannot, however, discover why he should have gone so far out of his way to invade Galloway. There were various and more attractive places for plunder nearer to him. Excepting Chalmers, who in 'Caledonia' states, "Cruithne were joined in their new settlements by the kindred Scots of Kintyre," it seems to us to have been overlooked by others that the Dalriadians in Argyllshire, and the so-called Picts in Galloway, were Irish-Scots of the same Dalriatach clanna, which we have already pointed out. The correct account seems to be that Alpin was driven from Argyllshire in A.D. 741 by Angus, King of the Picts, who, in 'Early Britain—Celtic Britain,' is called undoubtedly a Brython, and by his Brythonic subjects, Ungust. In 728 he had defeated Alpin, and the latter was again so by Nechtan. In 736, Angus or Ungust is stated to have devastated the whole country of the Scots (Northern), and to have forced Alpin with a body of Scots (whom he ruled) to enter the land of the

Picts of Manaw, where he was again defeated. Alpin's excursion to Strathclyde is therefore easily understood, for as the leader of the Dalriadians, whom he commanded, he was taking them to join their countrymen in Galloway, to obtain their aid for his own personal purposes. He crossed from Cantyre to Ayr, and then moved southwards. A great deal of misconception has accompanied his movements. Wyntoun has been implicitly believed, who wrote his Chronicle about 700 years after the event, and has not been considered altogether trustworthy in regard to other matters. As he has rendered it,

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“He wan of werre all Galloway,
There wes he slayne, and dede away.”

The story of the devastation of the district rests on these lines. There is not a doubt that he never overran Wigtonshire, nor was even in it. He was only on the borders of present Galloway, and there was slain, not in battle, as is generally supposed, but by an assassin who lay in wait for him at the place, near Loch Ryan, where the small burn separates Ayrshire from Wigtonshire. An upright pillar stone marks the spot, and was called *Laicht Alpin*, which in the Scoto-Irish means the stone or grave of. It is to be regretted that on the Ordnance map it is not properly described, for the stone must be the one west of Milldoon Hill, locally called the “Lang stane of the Laight,” and on the Ordnance map “Long Tom,” a would-be facetious, but very silly description. In a note, p. 230, vol. iii., of Wyntoun's ‘The Chronicle of Scotland,’ the

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following appears: "It is not, however, impossible that the country conquered by Alpin was Strath-Cluyd, which was afterwards in the judicial distribution of the kingdom comprehended under the name of Galloway." This supposition really conveys the true position, as it could only have referred to Ayrshire south of the river Doon. Mackenzie in his 'History of Galloway' mentions Galloway as part of Strathclyde, but he gives a wrong Alpin—viz., him who was only in power in A.D. 834, and then slain—and also a wrong date (836) in regard to this episode, for, as we have shown, it was King Alpin in 741 who was the leader of the expedition. The other Alpin had also a struggle. He was at last victorious in 834, but slain the same year. His son, Cinaeth or Kenneth, however, followed up the success attained, and he became the ruler of the Dalriada district in Argyllshire. Afterwards he became ruler of the Northern Picts, and died in 860, leaving the kingdom as an inheritance to his family. In 'Celtic Scotland' it is stated that from Galloway Kenneth had his origin, but it was not so. In regard to the Picts, however, Mackenzie gives the correct account, between whom and the Cumbrians (Strath-Cluydians) a battle is stated to have been fought in A.D. 744, for the first-named were the Northern, and not the Picts of Galloway, as described by some writers. As already mentioned by us, and also so stated by Mackenzie, Galloway was a portion of the kingdom of Strath-Cluyd, and the position erroneously ascribed to the Galwegians was fighting against their own race and friends. The term

Pict has caused as to race as much confusion as the Roman Dyke has been a delusion, in giving rise to the belief that it afforded proof that Galloway all through its history was an independent kingdom with its own line of kings. *The Irish-Scots.*
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We may mention, before closing this portion of our subject, that the Irish custom of sitting at night watching the dead in a lighted-up room is still to a small degree in practice in Galloway. The Irish wakes are well known, but in Galloway only one usually sits up in an adjoining room. On making inquiry, we have been told that a party has been known, and refreshments given, but such is rare. That Presbyterians should have retained this custom, shows the strong Celtic blood of the Irish-Scot as still existing in the district. We lately saw a house where this rite was going on nightly until the interment took place,—the family being of the old Celtic stock with Covenanter principles. In our boyhood we used to hear a story that when Coltran, provost of Wigtown, died, who was one of those who persecuted the Covenanters, his house was seen as in a blaze of light, which conveyed to the people the satisfactory belief that the devil had at last secured his own servant. This is more than probable; but it seems to us as more likely that the blaze might arise from an extra illumination while his body remained uninterred, in virtue of his late official position as provost. This of course is mere supposition on our part, under the ancient custom which we mention. It is a custom proving a good deal as to race, and viewed in that light is very interesting.

THE
SAXONS.

As occupying a prominent position in the histories of Scotland as well as England, and thereby affecting Galloway, we consider it necessary to enter on the history of the Saxons, and their supposed occupation of the district. A little consideration would have raised doubts as to the truth of the statements which first and last have been written on the subject, and research does not dispel the misgivings. First of all, however, a brief account of their origin, &c., is desirable, for their name is found to have been too widely made use of. The histories of the Angles and Jutes will be also dealt with.

In the time of Phythreas the traveller, the Teutones, who went with the Cimbri in the great southern migration, were settled in the districts south of, and somewhat to the east of Jutland, adjoining the Guttones, the Slavonians of the Baltic coast. Another account is that the Saxons were expelled from their ancient habitation on the south and south-west shores of the Baltic by the advancing Slavonic tribes of the Wends or Vandals. Tacitus, who lived from about A.D. 56 to 135, mentions the Germans and their territory, separated from Gaul, and the Alpine and Illyrian provinces, by the Rhine and the Danube, &c., with the ocean as their northern boundary. He also states that they did not intermarry with other races. Ptolemy is the first to mention the Saxones as inhabiting a territory north of the Elbe, on a neck of the Cimbri Chersonesus, a small tract; for between them and the Cimbri at the northern extremity of the peninsula he places ten other tribes, and in-

cluded the Anglia, of whom hereafter. It is about a century after this time that the Franks and Saxons are stated to have greatly extended their sea expeditions. Elton, in 'Origins of English History,' states that "the Saxons belonged to three closely connected nations of the Low Dutch stock. Their territories, it is clear, are now included in modern Schleswig-Holstein, and a district in southern Jutland; but it is extremely difficult to ascertain the precise places which they occupied about the time of their migration. The Saxons, who founded the kingdoms to which their name was given, besides several states in the western parts of Mercia, seem to have come from the marsh-lands beyond the Elbe. . . . It must also be remembered that the Saxons were always pushing westwards along the coast into the territories of the Chanci and the Frisians, occupying the various districts which were necessarily abandoned by the Franks." We give the above from the edition published last year (1890), but which affords little, if anything, to further elucidate the subject. Bede seems to be the principal source drawn on, and we have no great faith in him as a correct authority. To proceed with the subject, without any proof a belief is entertained that the Saxons had settlements in Britain long before the Roman occupation. The Roman writers have caused this and much confusion by the indiscriminate use of the Saxon name. In the same way the Franks have been introduced where their presence is exceedingly doubtful. In fact, a good deal of the information appears to have been erroneous. It is so mixed up

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with Scottish history, extending to Galloway, that it is necessary to try and clear up who the settlers really were. The Saxons who settled on the Elbe were at first an inconsiderable people. About A.D. 240, they united with some other German tribes, named Franks (*i.e.*, the free people), to oppose the advance of the Romans northwards. Their influence was so increased by this league, and in other ways, that ultimately they possessed not only their own district from the Elbe to the Eyder, but the range of country from the first-named river to the Rhine. Several distinct tribes were confederated in this extensive territory for mutual defence, and in this way the Saxon name was extended to those in the confederacy. We follow Bosworth to some extent in this account. So far the Saxon history can be understood, but subsequently much confusion exists. The Saxons and Franks were not seafaring peoples in the full sense, and yet we find it repeated in such a recent work as the 'Origins of the English' that the pirate fleets of the Franks infested the British seas, and had even found their way to the coasts of Spain and Africa. Also, that they were fast arriving at complete dominion in Britain, when Constantine broke their power by a decisive battle. We are also told that the Saxons were especially dreaded for their sudden and well-calculated assaults—that they swept the coast like creatures of the storm, choosing the worst weather, and the most dangerous shores, as inviting them to the easiest attack. Their ships, when dispersed by the Roman galleys, reassembled at some point undefended, and they began to plunder again. The

foregoing is given by Sidonius Apollinaris (viii. 3), who evidently confused the nationality of the pirates in question, which we will enter on in our statement about the Norsemen. Ammianus Marcellinus (xxviii.) also mentions that the country (Albion) nearest to Gaul was attacked by the Franks and their neighbours the Saxons, who were ravaging the south with fire and sword. In Zosimus (vi. 5) it is stated that Gerontius, at first the friend, and afterwards the destroyer of Constantius, recalled the barbarians who had retreated beyond the Rhine, and invited them to cross the Channel, and join in attacking defenceless Britain. Again to quote from Ammianus Marcellinus, he mentions that the Franks and Saxons were ravaging the districts of Gallia. This refers to the conquest of that country, which from the first-named became known as France. We have next to point out Claudian's erroneous reference to the Saxons as occupying the Orkney Isles—

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“Maduerunt Saxone fuso
Orcaes”—

when there cannot be a doubt that the Norwegians are referred to, and were mistaken for Saxons. The period was about A.D. 370. As we have already mentioned, neither the Franks nor the Saxons could have been the seafaring peoples as described. They had not the position by location for the training required for such a life, and, as mentioned, the craft they possessed were large flat-bottomed boats with a light timber keel, and in other respects only wicker-work covered with hides. In such

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vessels they could cross the Channel to Britain in moderate weather ; but, for the purposes ascribed, they could not have existed in the dangers to which such vessels would have exposed them. Yet the Roman writers mention that their fleets swarmed in every sea. There is, however, every reason to believe that the Scandinavians (Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes) being unknown to the Romans, were mistaken for Saxons and Franks. As Worsaae mentions, the Saxon disposition has always clung to a life on shore ; and how little they were at home on the sea, even in the time of Alfred the Great, is shown by the feeble resistance offered to the Danes. He built large ships to protect the coast, but he was unable to man them, and had, in part at least, to do so with Frisians, whose territory had a considerable sea-coast, both to the north and the west. It now is part of Holland. Modern Saxony is an inland State, and the most populous in Germany. It was divided into upper and lower divisions. The lower or original comprises Hanover, and the duchies of Mecklenburg, Brunswick, and Holstein.

THE
ANGLES.

The Angles are the next we wish to refer to. They are mentioned as having occupied Anuglus in the south-east part of the Duchy of Sleswick, and to have formed one of the tribes of the Saxon confederacy. If so, they could not have been of the small importance ascribed to them, as inferior to the Saxons ; for had it been so, their name would have disappeared in their absorption, like the other tribes, and more particularly in their case from Sleswick being of limited size, as will be shown by

us. In fact, to believe that so many colonists could proceed from it is impossible. In Green's 'Conquest of England,' it is mentioned that the original Engleland, now known as South Jutland (Sleswick), had its earlier people replaced by dwellers of Scandinavian blood. He gives no dates, but in a general sense he thus confirms what we advance, that Sleswick (now Schleswig) had a Scandinavian people at a period embracing at least the time when the Romans were in Britain, about the end of which the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes became permanent settlers in England. In Elton's 'Origins of English History,' he states, "old Anglia" is usually identified with a small district "about as large as Middlesex," bounded on one side by the road from Schleswig to Flensburg, and on the other sides by the river and an arm of the sea. This is the "Nook" or "Angulus," which lay as a march-land between the Jutes and Saxons, but was occupied soon afterwards by the Danes from the neighbouring islands. A description is found in the extracts from 'Othere's Voyage,' which King Alfred inserted into his edition of 'Orosius.' The merchant Othere, who dwelt northmost of all the Northmen (Christiania, Norway), told the king that he had been on a voyage southward, and for three days they sailed with Denmark on the right hand, and an open sea to starboard, and before they reached Haithaby there were numbers of islands, "and in that country," added King Alfred, "the English dwelt before they came to England." It is added, "We are not obliged to suppose that the Angles were confined to the small district around

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Angles.*

Schleswig. There is an island of Anglen, and another district on the mainland of the same name." He goes on to state that there are other indications showing that at one time the Angles were settled on the Elbe, about the northern parts of Hanover. Also, that Tacitus and Ptolemy place them in that part, and always in proximity with the Sueves, a nation of the High German stock, with whom the Angles were often associated. Dr Green, in his 'Conquest of England,' also refers to King Alfred's 'Orosius' in Pauli's 'Life of Alfred' (p. 253), in which is related that Wulfstan told Alfred of his sail past Jutland, Zeeland, and many islands, to which King Alfred replied, "In these lands the Engle dwelt before they came hither to this land." The foregoing is not contemporary evidence, but the last quotation supports what we believe. King Alfred was born at Wantage in Berkshire in A.D. 849, and died in 900. We consider, from all that is to be gathered, that the Angles were not only located in a part of the Jutland peninsula, but also occupied the various islands close to it, and to the east, all of which are known to have been Scandinavian from an early period. In the south of Jutland a district was called Angelm. In the Cattedgat there was an Engleholm, and also a place named Engelm in Sweden. In the Sagas it is asserted that only a part of Britain obtained the name of England, the correctness of which is borne out by the history of the Angles. They certainly were a distinct people from the Saxons. Worsaae mentions that their descendants, who inhabited the eastern and northern

districts in England, seem in regard to language and national manners to have borne a greater resemblance to the Danes than the inhabitants of any other part of England. In the south of England, which the Saxons are considered to have colonised, he further states that any striking resemblance to the Danes (this includes all the Scandinavians), in language, features, or frame of body, cannot be discovered.

*The
Angles.*

We will now refer to the Jutes, a people who are stated to have pioneered the way of the first permanent settlers in England. They are mentioned as having arrived at the Isle of Thanet, river Thames, in A.D. 449, and subsequently to have obtained Kent, the Isle of Wight, with part of Hampshire—the two latter being separated by the Solent channel. Kent is stated to have thereby become a kingdom, with another in the Isle of Wight, and the portion in Hampshire—a tract called the country of the Meon-Wards, upon the Hundreds of East and West Meon, on each side of the Hamble river to the east of the Southampton Water. Bede is the authority for this information, followed by Florence of Worcester, who describes the New Forest in Hampshire as lying “in the province of the Jutes.” The first wrote from two to three centuries afterwards, and the latter (who died in A.D. 1118) over six centuries after the period. Neither were, therefore, contemporary authorities. Their statements may, however, have some correct basis. We start with this; but we will show that the situation was

THE
JUTES.

The Jutes. out of the line of route for the Jutes to have taken, as a landing on the north-east coast, from its geographical position, was the more likely place to land at and settle in. Along with the Angles they have been classed as Saxons, which to us seems to be erroneous. They peopled the peninsula bearing their name, which they possessed as far south as the river Schley or Sley, with its mouth or outlet not far from Schleswig. The northern portion is now only known as Jutland, and belongs to Denmark. The southern portion, best known as Sleswick (now Schleswig), is said to be so named from the river (Schley), on the bank of which it stands, and is separated from Holstein by the river Eyder. The length of Jutland and Sleswick as one is 232 miles, and the first has an average breadth of 70 miles; while the latter is more irregular, ranging from 30 to 56 miles. The population forty years ago was about one million. The most southern portion of the peninsula is Holstein, which extends into Germany proper, comprising a superficial extent of 3500 miles, with about half a million of inhabitants. At the period we have mentioned, when all three districts belonged to Denmark, the whole population of that kingdom was then only about 2,250,000. It will thus be seen that Jutland, reduced in size to a half in extent, had about a half of the population of the kingdom of modern Denmark. Next, as regards race, it is allowed that the inhabitants are Scandinavian, excepting in Southern Schleswig and Holstein, which are now German. If correct that Holstein means the "Wood of the Saxons,"

from *holz*, the German for a wood, it supports our view that the river Eyder was the ancient boundary between the Scandinavian and German territories, and that the islands to the east of this tract of country north of the Eyder formed the early abode of that portion of the Scandinavians afterwards known as the Danes. We find this opinion supported in Green's 'Conquest of England,' who mentions that in 803, in his last struggle with the Saxons, Guröd, or Godfrid, King of Westfold (Christiania, Norway) and South Jutland, advanced with a fleet as far as Sleswick to give shelter to the warriors who fled from the sword of the Franks. Five years later a raid of the same king across the Elbe again called the Franks to the North, and Godfrid drew across the peninsula the defensive line of earthworks called the Dane-Work. In 810, Godfrid made a descent on Frisia with 200 ships, and conquered that country; but shortly afterwards he was slain, and his conquests lost.

We have entered into the foregoing particulars, as it has been asserted that the population was small; and those Jutes who settled in England were so few in number that they could not form separate colonies, but mingled with the Angles and Saxons—more especially with the latter, who were settlers in the south and south-west of England. Also, that they were in Kent and Hampshire, &c. It is a fact, however, as mentioned by Worsaae, that the popular language in the north of England is remarkable for its agreement with the dialect found in the peninsula of Jutland, and several

The Jutes. words are not to be found elsewhere. He also mentions that, of all the Danish dialects, the Jutland approaches nearest to the English, of which language many words are quite common in Jutland. The position of the descendants of the Angles is somewhat similar, as stated by us in the account given. It may be added that Jutland is nearer to England than any other part of Scandinavia. A glance at a map will show this, and that with an easterly wind (so common) the run across to the north-east of England would not occupy much time. Bede's statement that the Anglo-Saxons landed in Britain from three long ships belonging to three of the most powerful tribes in Germany—viz., the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes—which was followed by Florence of Worcester, and since then by many other writers without question, is scarcely to be credited. The very idea was insulting to the manliness of the Britons. It is also rendered, "The men [Saxons] came over from 'Old Anglia' with three 'keels,' or ships of war, loaded with arms and stores." As will be found under our account of the Scandinavians in Britain (p. 112), the Norwegians were the principal settlers in Scotland and Ireland, as also in the north of England. Worsaae states that the Northmen, by the Danish conquests, became the progenitors of as much as half of the present population of England. The Saxon race in the north has been greatly exaggerated. They were principally located in the south of England, and, in proof of this, the dialects in the north and south were always different. The first has much of the Scandinavian, while

the latter is considered to have more of the Belgian or Low Dutch. There are in England specimens of written Saxon as early as the seventh century. From ritual books it is seen that Saxon of about A.D. 890 and Dano-Saxon of about 930 differ to a considerable extent. It is also found that the Lowland Scottish was not derived from the Saxon, from which it differs in many respects, but appears to have had its origin from the languages of the Northern Picts and Norwegian settlers. It is true that there are no means of distinctly tracing this; but the belief of some writers that the Picts were originally Britons, and became mixed with Norse blood, is more than probable. The Pictish language, so far known as Celtic, is considered as having been nearer to the dialects of the Britons than to those of the Gael, which coincides with the above account of their origin—hence the characteristics of both, blended with the Goidel or Gaelic, to be found in the Scots. There can be little doubt that the Scottish language had its foundation principally from such sources. Chalmers gives many Scottish words as decidedly British or Cymric. In addition, there are many Goidelic or Gaelic words, as can be traced by any one possessed of Gaelic and Scottish dictionaries. The old Scottish language is largely composed of Celtic words. It is historical that in the eleventh century Gaelic was in use at the Court of Malcolm Canmore, and also in the Church at that period. This continued until Edgar succeeded as king in 1098, when Norman-French (not Saxon) displaced the Gaelic at Court. Sir Walter Scott erroneously considered that Saxon was the lan-

The Jutes.

The Jutes. guage at the Scottish Court from and after the reign of Malcolm.

In modern times, since the clans in the Highlands were broken up, and the northern population to a considerable extent scattered, the Lowlands has received a great number of Gaels first and last, who, intermarrying, have increased the Goidelic blood where it had decreased. Intercourse with England, however, has caused considerable changes in the dialect. This commenced about the middle of the fifteenth century, and goes on increasing yearly, creating bad Doric and still worse English in accent.

ENGLAND.

A brief account of the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes having been given, we will now proceed with the colonisation of Albion by them about A.D. 450, when southern Britain was divided into seven kingdoms, which continued until 827, when their union formed England. If the Saxons had held the leading position ascribed to them, we would have found it named "Saxonland," and not "Angleland," since corrupted to England. It has been considered that the colonists were in union, but Northumberland was not finally subdued until Ida with reinforcements of Angles arrived in A.D. 547. He is stated to have also overrun the Lothians, and to have annexed them, when the tribes there and to the westward, &c., combined, and formed the kingdom of Strathclyde. Ida founded the Bernician kingdom, the people being of various races. Bernicia was on the north side of the walls built by Hadrian and Severus (see p. 10), strictly Northumberland,

with Bamborough for its chief seat; but to it was added Deira south of the wall, extending to the river Humber. When held as one it was styled the kingdom of Northumberland, and embraced Northumberland, Durham, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cumberland, and Westmoreland. In 'Early Britain—Celtic Britain,' it is said that Bernicia is from the ancient Celtic Brigantes, mentioned by Bede in Latin as Bernicii, from the Anglo-Saxon Bærnicas, the English pronunciation of the Welsh equivalent Breennyeh or Brenneich. As we have mentioned in our account of the Brigantes, they at one time were in possession of the territory which became known as the kingdom of Bernicia. The Bernicians afterwards are said to have overrun the west and south-west of Scotland, including Galloway, which formed part of Strathclyde. Their success, however, was reversed in 685 at the battle of Duniichen, when they were driven out of Scotland, south of the Tweed. Bede affirms that although defeated they remained in the Lothians, but even at the utmost this could only have been in a limited sense. Bede only wrote from report, for, as already mentioned by us, he narrates that he never travelled from his abode in Durham, which was at Jarrow on the Tyne. After the battle in 685, it is recorded that the Picts (northern, considered to be of Cymric and Norwegian origin) overran and became the dominant people in the Lothians. It is also stated that their power extended to the river Tyne (Northumberland), where they were defeated in 710. There were other invasions, but, from all that can be learned, without colonisation, until

England.

England. Kings Malcolm and David in the eleventh and twelfth centuries encouraged settlers from England, which, however, seems to have been greatly exaggerated. We are also told from English sources that Galloway was held in subjection to Bernician rule, an English district, as we have shown, which had only come into existence about the middle of the sixth century, with quite enough to do to hold its own position. In addition to this, that in A.D. 750, Eadberct or Egbert, then king, added the whole of Ayrshire to his possessions of Galloway. This statement is misleading, for it was only by having made a treaty with Onnust (Hungust, Angus), King of the Picts (northern), and joining their forces, that Eadbrecht and Hungust were able successfully to invade Strath-Cluyd, possessed by the Britons, &c., and ruled by their own king. They overran the country, and took Al-Cluyd, the capital town, but not Dunbritton (Dumbarton), the castle or fort. They do not appear to have subdued Strathclyde. That such a kingdom with its own kings ruling could have been in the bondage indicated is beyond belief, and we do not believe it. As we show, questionable authorities have heretofore been followed, without the size of Strathclyde, and the different districts forming the kingdom, or the character of the peoples therein, being considered, which is much to be regretted. Galloway has been historically, and still is, a leading stumbling-block, for many erroneous ideas have emanated from the ignorance constantly to be found in regard to its history. As regards Strathclyde, as a whole, in 'Early Britain, &c.,' it is the opinion of the author

that the kingdom had become independent again, with kings of its own, of whom one died in 694, and another in 722. This is treating the history of the kingdom in the most fragmentary manner without any real basis, for the roll of kings is wonderfully complete; and is it at all probable that such could be so, if the kingdom had become an appendage to Northumberland or the Kings of England? In the same work it is added, "The Picts of Galloway still continued under the Northumbrian yoke," thus treating that district as separate, when really part of Strathclyde, as its position should tell, if other information were wanting. The term Pict misleads, for which subsequent historians have to thank Bede. Strathclyde as a kingdom had its own kings from Caw in A.D. 520 to Eochaid the Bald in 1018, and Galloway formed part, as to be expected from its geographical position. Its population then was largely composed of Irish-Scots, who had been crossing the Channel during the whole existence of Strath-Cluyd as a kingdom. If Galloway had been an independent district, its colonisation would not have gone on in so silent a manner, for failing Scottish records, the conflicts which must have occurred would not have escaped notice in the Irish Annals. Besides, is it to be credited that these Irish-Scots as settlers (warlike Goidels or Gaels) would have humbly submitted to be ruled by Bernician kings located in England? It is opposed to common-sense when the character of the people is considered. The whole subject is crowded with English assumption and exaggeration, as to be found in most other matters relating to

England.
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England. Scotland dealt with in southern Chronicles, &c. Again, we are told in 'Celtic Scotland,' and also in 'Early Britain, &c.,' the two modern works on such subjects, that in A.D. 946 the Cambrians were conquered by King Eadmund of England, who bestowed the whole country from the Derwent to the Clyde on King Malcolm of Scotland. This, however, is not only at variance with the then position of Strath-Cluyd as a kingdom, but is opposed to the original 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicles,' translated by Thorpe, who renders the passage: "In this year (945) Eadmund harried all Cumberland, and gave it to Malcolm, King of Scots, on the condition that he should be his co-operator both on sea and land." The translation by Riley of the passage as given by Hovedon is: "In the year 945, Eadmund, the mighty King of the English, laid waste the lands of the Cumbrians, and granted them to Malcolm, King of Scots, on condition that he should be faithful to him both by land and by sea." The district granted to King Malcolm was Cumberland, and not Strathclyde. The statement by the author of 'Celtic Scotland' that Strathclyde Welsh had then come to be known under the Latin appellation of Cumbri, and their territory that of Cumbrian, does not relate to the case in point, which merely referred to Cumberland. To suppose that Strathclyde is meant, is inconsistent with facts connected with that kingdom, and is opposed to truth as regards King Malcolm's rule of Scotland. The most contradictory statements are met with. We are told, under A.D. 945, that Galloway nominally was a part of Bernicia, and therefore under

Anglic rule; and elsewhere that Lennox and Galloway were within the limits of the ancient Cumbrian kingdom. Or in fuller form that Cumbria (Strathclyde) extended originally from the Clyde to the river Derwent (Cumberland), including what was afterwards the dioceses of Glasgow, Galloway, and Carlisle. It may be mentioned, in connection with what we consider the exaggerated English statements in regard to invasions into Scotland, and the power they held there, that we learn from Scandinavian sources of an emigration of Norsemen to the Scottish Lowlands, which is exceedingly probable, and must have been against Anglo-Saxon aggression, which may account for silence on the subject.

The idea has also largely prevailed that Galloway was for long under Saxon rule, with no other basis, so far as we can trace, than that in A.D. 723 commenced a succession of bishops connected with the Anglo-Saxon Church. This, however, was of short duration, as the last bishop was elected in 790. He was still there in 803, but the line ended with him. This ecclesiastical establishment, which did not exist for a century, was distinct from district rule. The power of the Church of Iona extended to Northumberland, &c., until the Anglo-Saxons, &c., conformed to Rome in 664. This latter was the Church thrust on the Galwegians, and failed at that period. Afterwards, when King David I., with his Anglo-Normans, &c., succeeded in establishing the Anglo-Church of Rome in Scotland without an archbishop, the Pope directed that the

England.

SAXON
RULE.

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Rule.*

Primate of York should consecrate, &c., and this was continued until an archbishop was established at St Andrews in A.D. 1472. During that period, however, Scotland as a country was not subject to England, and so it was with Galloway, an ecclesiastical union only existing with Northumberland, &c. That Galloway was overrun and devastated on different occasions is to be believed, but permanent settlement does not appear. The confusion, however, about the district was kept up; and under date 875 we are told that the Britons of Strathclyde and the Picts of Galloway were ravaged by the Danes of Northumberland. This is correct in one sense, as the Irish-Scots in Galloway, through Bede, had their name stamped in history as Picts; but we have mentioned in its proper place how it arose. The statement, under date 875, conveys that Galloway and Strathclyde were not united, which is erroneous. Mackenzie, in his 'History of Galloway,' while joining in the usual opinion (taken from uninvestigated writings), yet admits that few traces are left in support of Anglo-Saxon occupation, and at Whithorn specially, the place where such should be found. In the absence of facts, he therefore had recourse to making out something from the names of places, in which he was singularly unfortunate. His examples were Boreland, Englestone, and Carleton, as now spelled. The first he describes as the habitations of the slaves who were employed by the Anglo-Saxons to till the ground, termed boors, and hence Boreland. The next, Englestone or Inglestone, is described as applied to farms which had been

occupied by the Angles. The last is Carleton, which lands he states were so called from the ceorles, or middle-class Saxons, who were the owners. We thus have Galloway and Ayrshire transformed into an Anglo-Saxon province, as having been fully in their possession. The meanings given of all three are entirely erroneous. Boreland, as Bordland, is to be found as "lands kept by owners in Saxon times for the supply of their own board or table," but it referred specially to the Norsemen, from the Orkneys to Galloway, as lands exempt from *skatt*, the land-tax for the upholding of Government. Ingleston has been corrupted by some writers to Englishtoun, the abode of the English, whereas it is also from the Norse, and refers to land of a certain character or quality. Under our reference to the Norse occupation of Galloway, we will enter into more particulars in regard to the names Boreland and Ingleston. Lastly, Carleton, being from ceorles, is very far-fetched. If it had been from a Saxon source as indicated, the class from whom it is said to have been derived must have been very few (three to four) in number. It has, however, a very different meaning, as we will show. Even, however, as Anglo-Saxon, as personal it is to be found in early history in the person of Ceorl, who, to follow Thorpe's translation, was at the head of the men of Devonshire, and fought against the heathen men at Wieganebeorh (Wembury), and there made great slaughter, gaining the victory. It is also stated to have been borne as the surname of a family in Cornwall settled there before the Conquest (this

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may be rather too early for a surname), and who, as Carleton, are afterwards found in different parts of England, also branching off to Ireland. Carleton so spelled is, however, foreign to Galloway, and the name there is an Anglicised corruption of Cairillon, the abode of Cairill, the first of whom in the district was Lochlain ua Cairill (see p. 56), the royal heir-apparent to the throne of Ulster, who had to leave Ireland in A.D. 1095, and obtained lands in Carrick, to which his name was given. Other lands in Wigtonshire, and Borgue parish, Kirkcudbrightshire, got the same designation from descendants who removed there. In fact, all the erroneous exaggerations in regard to an Anglo-Saxon occupation of Galloway have arisen from the Norse rule being overlooked. The supposition has been that the latter only held the coast, whereas their rule of the district was thorough. The Romans also appear to have been impressed with the idea that the Saxons were everywhere, evidently confusing them with the Scandinavians. Even in Ireland, as we have stated elsewhere, the term Saxon is found, when there is clear evidence that they were Norsemen. There are some remains in Galloway which have been mistaken as being of Saxon construction. The most notable is the fine doorway arch which still stands at Whithorn Priory. There cannot, however, be a doubt that to the Norsemen the credit is due, and to those who may dispute this we have to refer them to St Magnus's Cathedral at Kirkwall, Shetland, erected by the Norsemen. It was founded in A.D. 1138 by Rognwald or Ronald, Norwegian Jarl or Earl of Orkney, who

was the nephew of the sainted Magnus. In viewing one you see both, they are so identical in architecture. Another example is the Irish fort, heretofore considered to be Saxon, and the only specimen in Galloway. The description we will hereafter give, together with other forts in the district.

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In 'Early Britain—Celtic Britain,' the quotation from, or rather reference to, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, under date A.D. 946, about King Eadmund of England and King Malcolm of Scotland, is repeated in another part, under the proper date 945, and states that the first-named king having harried Cumbria, gave it, together with Galloway, to Malcolm. We can find no allusion to Galloway and as little about Strathclyde. In fact the transaction related exclusively to Cumberland, as we have elsewhere stated (see p. 84). Further, in the same Chronicles, under date 965, there is the following: "In this year King Eadmund harried over all Cumberland, and gave it all up to Malcolm, King of Scots, on the condition that he would be his co-operator both on sea and on land." Under different dates, yet they relate to one and the same event. Malcolm was slain in 953. Galloway was part of Strathclyde; but at this time the Norsemen were trying to get possession, and not long afterwards it was under their rule, as also Cumberland, which latter district had been given to Malcolm for his aid to try and dislodge them.

The kingdom of Strathclyde at this period (A.D. 953) was near its termination, and is now little heard of, but it is believed to have been the first

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constituted kingdom within the present limits of Scotland after the departure of the Romans. Some historians (Henry, &c.) state that Cumberland and a portion of Lancashire were included; but this could not have been so, as both belonged to the Brigantes, and Cumberland afterwards formed a separate district until obtained by Scotland. The opinion may have arisen from the original Britons long holding their own there amidst invasions, and calling themselves in their own language Kumbri and Kambri. The capital of Strath-Cluyd was close to the rocky height well known now as Dumbarton Castle. On the summit was erected a very strong fort named Caer-Cluyd. The name Dumbriton, now Dumbarton, was given by the Scots. The people of the kingdom were called at different periods by different designations—as Britons, Walenses, Cumbrians, &c. The first king known in its history was Caw or Cawn, sometimes also Cannus and Navus. He is said to have been the father of Gildas, the first British writer, who wrote about A.D. 560. He is mentioned as having been born at Alcluyd (Dumbarton) in 520. Caw's eldest son Huail (Hoel or Coyle, from which Kyle is supposed to have been derived) succeeded him. Marken is named as the next: Rederick or Roderick followed. In the Ulster, &c., Annals he is mentioned as the first King of Cumbria or Strathclyde. He is named as king in 601. What we give refutes this opinion, as three kings preceded him. It is mentioned that he was on friendly terms with Columba, who visited Kentigern. This may have been, as St Columba died in A.D. 595 or 597. It was in his reign that

the Bernicians obtained temporary power over the Lowlands of Scotland, extending to the west and south-west, including Galloway. From Bede and the Irish Annals this appears to have been after the battle of Caire Legion, *alias* Chester, in A.D. 613, or, according to Tigearnach (the dates being two years earlier than given by Bede), when Ethelfrith defeated and killed two kings of the Britons. Bede expressly states that Edwin was the first Bernician king who had power over the Britons of Strath-Cluyd. This position must have been nominal. Gruiet, Gureit, or Guriad succeeded Rederick or Roderick as king. He died in 658. It is stated that in 681 the Walenses (Strath-Cluyd) repelled an invasion from Ulster, and slew the son of their king. What this refers to is not known. It is true that the counties Antrim and Down then contained the ancient natives of Western Ulster, &c., with their king, and the emigration to Galloway was in flow, but no particulars of a special invasion are known. The statement, however, may refer to Galloway as part of Strath-Cluyd. The next king of Strath-Cluyd was Owen, who was ruling in 694 when his son Daniel died. He was succeeded by Elphin (Welsh for Alpin), who appears as king in 772 when his son Bili died. At this period Strath-Cluyd was powerful; and after the defeat and death of Talorgan, brother of Angus or Ungust, King of Picts, in 750, it required the united armies of Eadberct or Egbert (one of the most warlike kings of Bernicia) and Angus to take Alcluyd in 756. It was this defeat which facilitated the inroads of the Norsemen in the following cen-

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ture. To continue the list of kings, it is stated that Elphin was succeeded by Conan M'Ruorach, who is found styled King of the Britons, and to have died in 815. He was followed by Arlaga or Artagh. It was in his reign that King Edgar of England is said in 828 to have overrun and made settlements in Strath-Cluyd. We can find nothing to corroborate any settlement, and believe it to be figurative language. There is proof that Strath-Cluyd was independent for forty-one years afterwards. As recorded in the Annals in 869 or 870, Alcluyd was invested by the Danes from Ireland, and taken after a four months' siege. They then ravaged the country and returned to Dublin, taking many captives with them. These invasions appear to have been more as raids without any colonisation. It was, however, through such reverses that the kingdom of Strath-Cluyd lost in a great degree its power; but although tottering it still existed. King Arlaga or Artagh was killed in one of these contests in 872. His son Rhun succeeded. We may mention that, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles of 875, the kingdom of the Strathclydians is called Strathcluttenses Stræcled (Strætcléd) Weslas —*i.e.*, Strath-Cluyd Welsh. In the same year (875), under Halfdene, the Danes passed from Northumberland, and got as far as the district now known as Galloway, which they plundered. The other portion of Strathclyde through which they passed was also ravaged. Rhun left a son named Eochaid, whose curator or governor was Grig, and this individual, as stated, assumed power for a time, re-annexing to Strath-Cluyd the Cumbrian district

south of the Solway, and is said to have liberated the Picts of Galloway from the yoke of the Angles. It has been added, however, that there is nothing to authenticate this, though it may have taken place at the time. The question, however, is, how could it? The Cumbrian district south of the Solway was not part of Strath-Cluyd, nor were the Picts (properly Irish-Scots) of Galloway under the rule of either the Angles or the Saxons. Such statements are opposed to all that we can find, which we have entered on elsewhere. Grig and Eochaid are said to have been expelled in 889. The introduction of the Angles name so far confirms what we have already mentioned in its proper place, that they were distinct from the Saxons, and rather to be considered of Scandinavian origin. The latter people had the aptitude of assimilating their habits, even to the language, very quickly to those of other races whom they were thrown amongst. Following Rhun as king was Ruaidhri or Roary, son of Murnin, who in the 'Chronicum Scotorum,' under date 877, is stated to have gone to Erin, fleeing from the Dubhgaill—*i.e.*, the Danes. Elsewhere it is recorded that he was slain by the Saxons, which is another example of the Norsemen being confused with them. In the Annals, under date 876, it is mentioned that the natives of Strath-Cluyd and Cumberland (this corroborates our statement that Cumberland was not included in Strath-Cluyd) were mightily infested and weakened through the incursions of the Danes, Saxons (Angles and Jutes), and Scots, insomuch that as many of the Strath-Cluydians as would not submit to the yoke were

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forced to quit their country. This exodus, it is mentioned, took place under their chief Constantine, who was slain in a conflict at Lochmaben, Dumfriesshire. The remainder of his followers are said to have got to Wales and settled there. It is to be remarked, however, that Caradog (by Wynne) alone mentions Constantine as a King of Strath-Cluyd, and according to Llwyd no other writer gives his name, which is correct so far as we can trace. We consider that he could only have been a chief, and we rate him accordingly. We have further to remark that it is evident Galloway is referred to, which was then a part of Strath-Cluyd. Also the Scots mentioned were no doubt the Irish-Scots in Galloway from Ulster, who encroached on the natives—the Novantæ of Cymric origin—as here again confirmed, for, being disturbed, they returned to their countrymen in Wales. It seems strange to us that what we gave from the ‘Pictish Chronicle’ in our account of the Irish-Scots colonisation of Galloway (p. 53) should have been overlooked by previous writers, for it is in close connection with the foregoing Cymric exodus from Strath-Cluyd. It is expressly stated in the said Chronicle that about A.D. 850 the Irish-Scots made a settlement in Galloway by stratagem, when they slew the chief inhabitants. We have also further evidence of the said Cymric exodus in the ‘Four Ancient Books of Wales’ (Brut y Tywysogion Cumbriæ and Men of the North), edited by W. F. Skene, LL.D. It is as follows: “The men of Strathclyde who would not unite with the Saxons (?) were obliged to leave their country and

go to Gwynued, and Anarawd (King of Wales) gave them leave to inhabit the country taken from him by the Saxons, comprising Maelor, the Vale of Clwyd, Rhyvoniog, and Tigeingel, if they would drive the whole out of the country, and so Gwynued was freed from the Saxons by the might of Gwyr z Gog ledd, or the Men of the North." The date is A.D. 890, whereas in the Annals of Ulster the migration of the Cymri is given in 865. Other authorities give it as having occurred in 875 and 878. The whole of the information we have given is so well linked together, and the dates allowing time for the culmination of dissatisfaction created after subjugation with the final retreat to Wales, that we have what may be considered indisputable evidence of the Cymri, as the Novantæ, having occupied Galloway, and of their subjugation, and being supplanted by the Irish-Scots from Ulster, who became the inhabitants of the district. The erroneous idea about the Saxons is again introduced in connection with the Scottish portion of the subject. The southern part of Strathclyde—viz., Galloway—is the ground for the Cymri exodus, and the Irish-Scots were the cause of it. The mention of a similar retreat of the Cymri from Cumberland at the same period arose from the constant Norse invasions, and who succeeded in getting a firm hold of it. The actions of the Irish-Scots in Galloway, and the Norsemen in Cumberland were, however, distinct, and had no connection with each other. What alone refers to the Saxons is that when the Cymri from Galloway and Cumberland returned to Wales, at the request of King Anarawd,

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they drove the Saxons out of the district of Gwyned back into England.

To return to the Strath-Cluyd succession of kings, in A.D. 900 Donald died. It is stated that he was the last king who could claim Roman descent. We have in this statement confirmation of what we alluded to in our remarks about the Roman occupation of Galloway, and the progeny left by them. Donald was succeeded as king by Donald, son of Hugh, who died in 908, when his son Eugenius, Owen, or Ewen was the next on the throne, and appears to have reigned from 919 to 938. In his reign, we find in the original Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (edited by Thorpe in 1861 by order of Government) reference made to Strath-Cluyd — "A.D. 921. In this year, before midsummer, King Edward went with a force to Nottingham, &c., &c., and they, the King of Scots, and Regnald (Reginald), and the sons of Eadulf, and all those who dwell in Northumbria, as well English as Danish, and Northmen and others, and also the King of Strath-Cluyd Welsh, choose him for father and for lord." Again, in A.D. 924, "that Edward was chosen for father and for lord by the King of Scots, and by the Scots, and King Regnald, and by all the Northumbrians, and also by the King of the Strath-Cluyd Welsh, and by all the Strath-Cluyd Welsh." These extracts are to be treated as bombastical English exaggerations. The Danes, who were all-powerful, and included the Angles and Jutes, held Northumberland. The King of Scots having joined in a league with the Danes against the power of King Edward, he

sent his son Athelstane against them, by whom they were defeated with great slaughter. The result was that for his conduct the King of Scots had to hold Cumberland in vassalage to the King of England; but beyond this it did not go. At the period Scotland was in three divisions, and not then one kingdom as now known.

Strath-Cluyd.
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To resume the Strath-Cluyd succession of kings, Eugenius, Owen, or Ewen was succeeded by his son Donald, who died in 945. He had a son Dwnwalhon (Donald) who followed as king. In his reign, in A.D. 970, at the head of a powerful army he marched to the Lothians, and gave battle to the northern Scots and Picts, defeating them, and their leader Culen was slain. The Strath-Cluydians, however, had a reverse in 974, when they again met the northern Scots and Picts in battle, were defeated, and their valiant king, Dwnwalhon, then went to Rome, where he died. According to Llwyd he was the last ruler, which is incorrect, as the last King of Strath-Cluyd was Eocha or Eogan the Bald, who fought at Brunanburgh, and also at Carham in 1018, in which year he died. With him ended the kingdom of Strath-Cluyd. Galloway, as a portion of it, then fell into the full possession of the Norsemen, of whom hereafter. They had also possession of Cumberland on the opposite side of the Solway.

In connection with the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, we have now to refer to a portion of history which has been misrepresented in a strange manner by those who have wished to make modern Galloway

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a separate kingdom in ancient times. It relates to Edward and Edgar, Kings of England, the latter styling himself King of Britain when at Chester in 973. In Mackenzie's 'History of Galloway' special attention is directed to the petty kings in attendance on Edgar, but we will give what appears in regard to both kings. The cause of King Edgar having been brought forward prominently arises from one of the petty kings being styled "Jacobus, rege Galwalliæ"—*i.e.*, James, King of Galloway. Mackenzie relates that this proves Galloway then to have been an independent kingdom. He quoted from Ritson. The latter, however, guards against such an interpretation in a footnote, for he quoted from Matthew of Westminster, who wrote centuries after the events, and whom he (Ritson) did not believe. What we will give are from the original. "Anno gratiæ 921, rex Eadwardus, &c. Quo utique anno rex Scotorum, Reginaldus rex Northumbrorum, ex natione Danorum (et) dux Galwalensium, ad regem Eadwardum venientes, subjectionem fecerunt et cum eo fædus firmissimum pepigerunt." Another is: "Anno gratiæ 924. Rex Anglorum Edwardus cognomento Senior, qui cunctus Britanniam incolentibus Anglorum, Walanorum, Scotorum, Cumborum, Galwalensium (et) Danorum," &c. An abbreviated translation of each is to the following effect: "The King of Scots, Reginald, King of the Northumbrians, of the nation of the Danes (and) the Earl of the Galwegians, coming to King Edward made subjection, and entered into a most firm league with him." The second is: "Edward, King of the English, sur-

named the Elder, who powerfully presided over all the people inhabiting Britain, of the Welsh, Scots, Cumbrians, Galwegians, (and) Danes." What is more to the point, however, is the following, also from the original: "Anno gratiæ 974, &c. Eodem anno rex Pacificus Eadgarus, ad urbem Legionum venies, ab octo sub regulis suis, Kinedo scilicet rege Scotorum, Malcolmo Cumborum, Macone rege Monæ et plurimarum insularum, Dufual rege Demetiæ, Sifertho et Howel regibus Walliæ, Jacobo rege Galwalliæ, et Jukil Westimariæ, Juramentum fidelitatis acceptit," &c. Thus in the 'Flores Historiarum per Matthæum Westmonasteriensem Collecti,' we have statements quite at variance not only with the more ancient Chronicles, but also with general history, and everything else to be traced to the present time. He gives eight kings, when only six are found elsewhere. Maccus is Latinised into Macone; but what we have specially to notice is that the Jacobo and Jacobus of other writers is transformed by Matthew of Westminster into "a King of Galloway," which has no place in, and is refuted by history. Ritson, to qualify so much error, has the following in a note: "Perhaps in both instances it should have Stretgladwalensium, or the like, no other English author ever mentioning the Galwegians at so early a period. The same writer (Matthew), among the eight petty sovereigns who rowed King Edgar's barge up and down the river Dee in 974, names 'Jacobus rege Galwalliæ,' by whom also he probably meant Strathclyde, if, in fact, that kingdom had then existence." So much for Ritson as an

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authority on this point. He was right: for Galloway at the period was not then known by that name; and how could James be king? Nor was he King of Strath-Cluyd, which, although in weakness, continued to exist, as we have already shown. One of the Chronicles by the same writer (Matthew) also makes mention of the Earl (Jarl) of Galloway, although the period is before the Norse occupation, and such a title then unknown in the district. The whole proves the want of authenticity, coupled with errors, to be accounted for by having been written many centuries afterwards. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, edited by B. Thorpe in 1861, by order of the Government, are very different—not a name is given in connection with King Edgar's pageant. The translation is as follows: "972. In this year Eadger Ætheling was hallowed king, &c.; and he was thirty years old wanting one, and forthwith after that, the king led all his naval force to Chester, and there came to him six kings, and all swore fealty to him that they would be his co-operators by sea and by land." Such is the ancient Chronicle, and we have to remark that nearly all of the six kings, so called, were only chiefs.

The next chronicler was William of Malmesbury, a monk and librarian of the monastery there. He died in 1143. He states: "Regem Scotorum Kunadium, Cumbrorum, Malcolmum, Archipiratam Maccusium, Omnesque reges Wallensium, quorum nomina fuerunt Dusual, Gifreth, Hunal, Jacob, Judethil, ad curiam cunctos uno et perpetuo sacramento sibi obligavit adeo ut apud Civitatem Legionum sibi occurrentes in pourpani triumpho, per flu-

nium Dee illos deduceret," &c. The next Chronicler who mentions the subject is Roger de Hovedon. He lived prior to and during the lifetime of King Henry II., who reigned from 1154 to 1189. He states, "Rex Anglorum Pacificus Eadgarus . . . cum ingenti classe Britannia circumnavigata ad Legionum Civitatem appulit: cui sub reguli ejus octo, Kenath, scilicet rex Scottorum, Malcolmus rex Cumborum, Maccus plurimarum rex insularum, et alii quinque scilicet Dufual, Lifenthus, Huwaldus, Jacobus, Inchillus ut Mandaret occurrerunt et quod sibi fideles et terra marique coöperatores esse vellent jurauerent, cum quibus die quadam, scapham ascendit, illisque ad remos locatis, ipse clavum gubernaculi arripiens eam per cursum fluminis perite gubernavit, omnique turba ducum et procerum, simili navigis comitante à palatio ut Monasterium Scanti Johannis Baptistæ navigavit," &c. To make these quotations intelligible to all readers, we give the following translations. William of Malmesbury's mention of the subject in his Chronicles is to the following effect: "Kenneth, King of Scotland, Malcolm, King of the Cumbrians, Maccusius, the Arch-pirate, and all the kings of the Welsh, whose names were Dusual, Gifreth, Hunal, Jacob, Judethill, assembled at the palace." Hovedon's Chronicle states: "The King of the English, Edgar the Peaceable, . . . with a large fleet, having sailed round Britain, arrived at the country of the Legiones, whom his eight sub-kings—viz., Kynaeth, King of Scots, Malcolm, King of the Cumbrians, Maccus, King of very many islands, and five others, Dufual, Siferth, Huval, Jacob, Inchill—came to meet

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as he had commanded, and swore that they would co-operate with him faithfully by land and by sea; with whom on a certain (?) day he embarked in a boat, and they being placed at the oars, he himself seizing the tiller (lit., key of the helm), steered it (the boat) skilfully along the course of the Dee, and all the crowd of leaders and chieftains, accompanying in a smaller vessel, he sailed from the palace to the monastery of Saint John the Baptist." We will again refer to this Chronicle, which abounds with nonsense. At present we have to notice the difference; for in the original Anglo-Saxon Chronicles only six kings without names are mentioned, and Malmesbury and Hovedon give eight with names. Such is all that can be traced in regard to the subject. We have been unable to find any authority for the statement made in regard to a King of Galloway; and who, with any knowledge of the ancient history of the district, would believe that there was a "Jacoborege Galwalliæ," even if we had not a clear refutation of the assertion? It would appear that Jacoborege with no designation has been transformed into a "rege Galwalliæ." The truth is, the Annals were not contemporary throughout, but, and in not a few instances, compiled centuries afterwards. The ancient Anglo-Saxon Chronicles were compiled by one after another, without the writers' names being given, for it was then unnecessary. When we come to individuals, we have the well-known Bede, mention of whom has already been made by us, as one, in our opinion, whose writings on each subject require to be sifted before being too closely followed.

He died in 735. We then have William of Malmesbury, an account of whom has already been given. He wrote his portion of the Chronicles nearly two centuries after the event to which we draw attention occurred. We next have Roger de Hovedon (chaplain to King Henry II. of England), who continued the Chronicles from the time when left off by Bede in 731 to 1201. As already mentioned, he lived prior to and in King Henry's reign, which extended from 1154 to 1189. He therefore survived the king. In his case we have a chronicler of events more than two centuries after they occurred. Much may be correct, but how much more incorrect under such circumstances? Matthew of Westminster is another example, for he lived in the fourteenth century—that is, fully three centuries afterwards—and being a Benedictine monk of Westminster Abbey, what personal knowledge could he have had of Galloway, if any of Scotland? He alone mentions Galloway by that name. He calls the inhabitants Galwalenses, while all the earlier writers call them Strath-Clutenses or Strath-cludwalli, as forming a portion of Strath-Cluyd, the kings of which are also found as “Rex Streat-gledwalorum” and “Streddedunalarum.” In entering on the subject in this way, we do not wish to throw discredit on Annals in general, but only to point out those which are opposed to correct history as learned from close research. Many errors have arisen from the absence of local knowledge, or direct and positive information. We may also refer to confusion, an example of which is to be found in the ‘Annals of Tigearnach,’ under date A.D. 856,

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when there appears "Cocadh mor ettir gennti z Maelsechnaill con Gallgoidhel leis," the translation given being, "Great war between the Gentiles and Maelsechnall with the Gallwegians along with them." Again, in 857, "Roinind ren I mar z ren Amlaiph fu Caittil find con Gall-Gaedhel hi tiribh Munhan," which is rendered, "Victory by Imar and by Amlaebh against Caithilfin with the Galwegians in the territories of Mundu." The meaning conveyed that it referred to Galloway is a mistake. The words Gall and Gaedhél will be found in Ireland. It meant there a mixed race, and was applicable to the population of several districts in that country.

We have already referred to the extravagant wording of the English Annals. As Hume states in his 'History of England,' "Those annals, so uncertain and imperfect in themselves, lose all credit when national prepossessions and animosities have place," &c. The various quotations we have given should show how they expanded, according to the time written and the mind of the writer. One of the most glaring is the account given by Roger de Hovedon of King Edgar's pageant at Chester, and on the Dee. The King of Scots and his son are classed with a pirate and several Welsh petty rulers, and made oarsmen of a vessel, of galley form, we suppose, to pull the Peaceable King of England about. The crew of the said boat, or small eight-oar galley, with the Peaceable King Edgar as steersman, thus numbered nine, while we are likewise told that all the crowd of leaders and chieftains, thus conveying that they were a host in number, yet accompanied him in a smaller vessel. If his

own craft was of the size described, with a crew of nine, how could a crowd be accommodated in a smaller vessel? Our object in thus entering on such a subject is to expose the exaggerations so customary in all that related to the exaltation of England and detraction of Scotland. In the foregoing case, the absurdity tells its own tale, for the object of the writer is apparent—viz., to make the King of Scots a vassal, when all the homage due was for Cumberland only, then held by his son Malcolm, who, to swell the importance of the story, is styled King of the Cumbrians, when only the prince over, or rather the governor of Cumberland. To go back, we may give another example of the want of honesty of some of the English Chronicles. Hovedon asserts that King Constantine did homage to King Æthelstone for his kingdom; but in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, translated by Thorpe, it is: "An. 926. Æthelstan assumed the kingdom of the Northumbrians, and he subjugated all the kings who were in this island,—first, Howel, King of the West Welsh, and Constantine, King of the Scots, and Owen, King of Gwent, and Ealdred, son of Ealdulf of Bamborough," &c. It is rather difficult to follow the Kings of Scotland at this time. Constantine, however, is called the third of that name, which points to foreign extraction. Anyhow, the army which was defeated by Æthelstan (called the base-born son of Edward) was commanded by Malcolm, who afterwards succeeded Constantine. The term subjugation was simply extravagance of language, Cumberland and Westmoreland only being taken from the Scots. This is proved, for in another

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entry there is: "An. 933. In this year King Æthelstan went into Scotland, with both a land force and a ship force, and ravaged a great part of it." Had King Æthelstan subjugated Scotland in 926, he would not have required, seven years afterwards, to go there again, and ravage a great part of it. We have in this last entry the true state of matters—viz., ravaging expeditions when the kings could not agree—and the same kind of raids were as frequently returned, if not commenced, by the Scots on their English neighbours.

NORSE
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After the Strath-Cluyd kingdom came to an end, a blank occurs in the history of Galloway, which was left unexplained. We entered on the subject when writing 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway,' as certain matters in which we were personally interested caused us to take special notice of the movements of the Norsemen. We felt that the several fortresses erected by them on different parts of the coast were in connection with something more important than appeared on the surface,—that these castles were never erected with no other object than a seaboard occupation. We therefore gave much attention to Norse history; and our belief that Galloway was entirely under Norse rule for a considerable time has been fully confirmed. It is thus necessary to give an outline account of the early position of the Scandinavians, for in Scotland, as well as in England and Ireland, they exercised an important part, which has not been sufficiently understood. We will not follow Du Chaillu in 'The Viking Age' as to their origin;

for whether or not they came originally from the shores of the Black Sea, and many of their customs were like those of the ancient Greeks, is beyond our limit. The objects of Roman and Greek manufacture, and coins of the first, second, and third centuries of the Christian era, showing the early intercourse they had with the Western and Eastern Roman Empire, and with Frisia, Gaul, and Britain, to which Du Chaillu refers, is very interesting; but it has been known that, prior to the discovery of the sea-way to the eastern world, intercourse with the North from Arabia, &c., was carried on through Russia by the rivers, and that many Arabian coins have been dug up in Russia and Scandinavia. In ancient times, Scandinavia appears to have been divided into several small kingdoms. Afterwards the principal races were the Norwegians, Danes, and Swedes. To these we add the Angles and the Jutes, who were located outside the Saxon (so-called) confederated territory. As mentioned by Worsaae, of all the Scandinavian dialects the Jutland approaches nearest to the English.

Roman writers mention the Sueones, Saxones, and Franci, as northern maritime tribes; and Tacitus describes the first-named as situated in the ocean itself, powerful on land and sea, having mighty fleets. Their ships are mentioned as being of an unusual build, being double-prowed—that is, with a prow at each end, and thus always capable of being steered any way without turning. They had no sails (at that period), or did not use them, with the oars free, so that they could be changed from one part to another as required. At that

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early period they thus correspond so far, as to prows, &c., with those of Scandinavian build in after-times, when in addition sails were introduced by the Vikings. That the Sueones were Scandinavians is thus proved. If, however, of Greek origin, as asserted, they did not obtain their pre-eminence as shipbuilders from that quarter, for neither the Greeks nor the Romans excelled in such. The Greeks have been called a maritime people, and to have steered by the stars; but neither they nor the Romans were famed for seamanship, their afloat movements having been principally confined to the Mediterranean. To pass to the Atlantic, and proceed coastwise to the north as far as Britain, was a rare exploit. The Greek and Roman ships were not adapted for such voyages. There is every reason to believe that the Scandinavians were the first to build large seagoing ships, and the Norwegians to have been accustomed to traverse the Atlantic, visiting the Shetland Isles, Iceland, and Greenland, and, as mentioned, to have undoubtedly visited America several times, thereby being the first discoverers of the Western World. The Sueones appear to have been Swedes. The name is supposed to correspond with Swiar, found in the Sagas, and to refer to the inhabitants of Svithjod (Sweden). The Swedes, however, are considered to have been aggressive more in the East than the West. Du Chaillu contends that the Scandinavians must have had intercourse with Britain centuries before the time of Tacitus. This will be found difficult to deal with. Worsaae mentions that during the Roman occupation, and

probably earlier, a tolerably brisk commerce appears to have been kept up between Britain and Scandinavia, and especially with Jutland, &c.; that their merchant-vessels brought their wares and merchandise from the East, and particularly from Constantinople. It is found that the Shetland and Orkney Isles were in their possession from early times; and it is not to be credited that such an enterprising people had not settlements in the northern parts of Britain prior to the eighth and ninth centuries, when authentic history begins. It is opposed to the character of the people. The Saxones and the Franci mentioned were Germans, and distinct from the Scandinavians. As stated in our separate account of each, while the latter were a daring seafaring people, the Saxons and Franks were not so, but fonder of a shore than a sea life. The Norwegians called themselves Northmen; and the Danes and Swedes are found so called in the Chronicles of the Franks. All of them are better known as Norsemen, and the great maritime power which they possessed may be conceived from their ships. Of war-ships they had five classes. The largest, from having the head and tail of a dragon at the bow and stern, or rather each prow, were named after that mythical animal. Another class, called the Skaid, were long, and sailed fast. They were fitted for from 20 to 30 rows of oarsmen. The largest had 32, with crews of 240 men and upwards. One large vessel had rowing accommodation for about 600 men. They were manned with most daring warriors, who were equally so as seamen, and especially the Norwegians, whose danger-

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ous coast facing the Atlantic accustomed them to the wildest weather. The Danes and Swedes were also brave warriors, as well as expert seamen. All the foregoing is generally admitted, but nothing to the same effect has been mentioned of the Jutes and Angles, who were reared in the same waters as the Danes and Swedes. In many cases it is difficult to trace races from the language used. For example, the Norwegians, Danes, and Swedes had the same originally. Ancient France, when peopled with Gauls, was Celtic, but when conquered by the Romans it lost its language, &c. ; and again, when conquered by the Franks (Germans), obtaining its present name from them, the great mass of the people, who are Greek-Latin and Celtic, were not affected, and the French language is called essentially Latin, with some Teutonic words. In Holland the people are Teutonic (German), but with their language called Dutch. In Belgium, mostly Teutonic, and the language a dialect of the Dutch, called Flemish. In Spain and Portugal the race is considered to be Greek-Latin, and their language from the Latin. On the north of Spain, however, a considerable number of the people speak Basque, which some consider to have been the original Spanish language. In Switzerland the population is principally Teutonic, with a mixture of the Greek-Latin; French and Italian is spoken. Austria has a mixture, as stated, of Slavonic, German, Finnish, and Greek-Latin. The first-named constitute a half of the population, with various dialects in language. We have gathered the foregoing from sources considered

to be accurate, and will merely add that the term Greek-Latin was introduced after the Greeks were conquered by the Romans. The language is called Romaic or Roman, which, however, does not differ much from that of ancient Greece. All these are subjects which can be followed out by competent scholars, and we limit our observations to the fact as started with, that races cannot always be traced or identified by language, although it may largely assist in it. The Norwegians and Swedes are both fair in complexion, &c., and may therefore have had the same origin; but not so with the Danes, who are described as being dark. The mistake of the Roman writers in the use of the word Saxon in so general a sense, may have arisen from the latter being fair like the Norwegians and Swedes. Another source of confusion in later times arose from the Norwegians and Swedes being called Danes, and particularly so in Ireland. It is a repetition of the Roman mistake as regards the Saxons. The Scandinavians in Ireland had permanent settlements there. Each had a town. They were called Ost-men, as having come from the east. They were also settled in several of the large cities, their chief power having been centred in Dublin. Although they became broken in strength, they were not driven out of Ireland.

The Norwegians were the principal settlers, &c., in Scotland, in Ireland, and also in the north of England. At the time of the Conquest of England it is mentioned that the population towards the east coast, with York and Lincoln, was almost

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exclusively Scandinavian. In connection with Ireland, the fact that the Danes and Norwegians often fought among themselves for dominion there, to some extent shows that they had imbibed the Irish spirit, for, as we have mentioned in our account of the Irish-Scots, such was the curse of Ireland. Various Scandinavian weapons found in Ireland are superior to those of Irish make. Swords, 24 to 32 inches, have been discovered, some two-edged, others one, with guard, and large pommel at the end of the hilt. Worsaae gives some specimens. It is remarked by Worsaae that the language of the Lowlands of Scotland is so much like that of Scandinavia that seamen wrecked on the coasts of Jutland and Norway have been able to converse without difficulty in their mother tongue with the people there. Also, that the popular language of the Lowlands contains a still greater number of Scandinavian words and phrases than even the dialect of the north of England. He states, in addition, that the near relationship of the North Englishmen with the Danes and other Scandinavians is reflected both in popular songs and in the folk-lore, and is even more so in the Scottish Lowlands, whither great immigrations of Northmen took place. Modern Scandinavian has changed considerably; but in the Icelandic, which is pure, its affinity with the ancient Scottish is great. The Lord's Prayer in the two languages, as given by Pinkerton, will show this. The orthography and pronunciation constitute the principal difference. It is obvious that the assimilation of Icelandic into Scottish was attended with no difficulty. It was

considered by some writers—and truly so, we think, from the character and customs of the people—that the Scandinavian poetry gave to the Scottish some of its wildness, added greatly to by the Celtic element. It is stated that the Scandinavian and the Scottish music scales are very similar. Worsaae mentions, as we have already stated, that it was a special trait of the Scandinavians that they very quickly accommodated themselves to the manners and customs of the countries where they settled. They even sometimes quite forgot their mother tongue, without, however, losing their original and characteristic national stamp. The well-known “raven,” called the Danebrog of heathenism, which was borne for centuries, and viewed with superstitious awe in the British Isles as well as elsewhere, was not put aside for long after they became Christianised. According to Worsaae, it was borne until about A.D. 1100; but a Galloway legend brings it to a date some years later. It was at last put aside for the “lion rampant,” which, Worsaae states, as borne in the arms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, is peculiarly Scandinavian, and does not cross the Eyder. Holstein adjoining has “a nettle leaf,” and an entirely different coat of arms.

The earliest record of the appearance of the Norsemen in British waters is to be found in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles. They are stated to have come from Hæretha-land, now Hordaland, on the west coast of Norway. The Irish Annals and Welsh Chronicles give the date of their first appearance on the Irish coast as A.D. 795, but it is clear enough that they were known centuries previously.

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In 798 they plundered Inispatrick of Man and the Hebrides. Then, in 802, and again in 806, the establishment at Iona suffered. In 807 they had settlements in Ireland; and in 815 Armagh is found as the capital of a Norseman. In 852 Dublin was conquered by Olaf the White, and at that time, as has been said, the Irish waters swarmed with these sea-rovers. About 872, King Harold, aided by Earl Rognwald, subdued the Hebrides, &c., inclusive of the Isle of Man. Thorstein the Red, son of Olaf the White, King of Dublin, and Earl Sigurd, subdued Caithness and Sutherland, as far as Ekkielsbakkie, and afterwards Ross and Moray, with more than half of Scotland, over which Thorstein ruled, as recorded in the 'Landnama-bok.' About 963, Sigurd, son of Earl Hlodver, and his wife Audna (the daughter of the Irish King Kiarval), became ruler over Ross and Moray, Sutherland and the Dales (of Caithness), which seems also to have included old Strathnavar. Sigurd married, secondly, the daughter of Malcolm (Malbrigid), called King of Scotland. He was slain at Clontarf near Dublin, in 1014. By his first marriage he left issue, Sumarlidi, Brusi, and Einar, who divided the Orkneys between them. By his second marriage he had issue, Thorfinn, on whom King Malcolm bestowed the earldom of Caithness. To quote from the Introduction, 'Njal Saga,' by Dasent, "Ireland knew them (the Vikings), Bretland or Wales knew them, England knew them too well, and a great part of Scotland they had made their own. To this day the name of almost every island on the west coast of Scotland is either pure Norse, or Norse distorted, so as to

make it possible for Celtic lips to utter it. The groups of Orkney and Shetland are notoriously Norse; but Lewis and the Uists, and Skye and Mull are no less Norse, and not only the names of the islands themselves, but those of reefs and rocks, and lakes and headlands, bear witness to the same relation, and show that, while the original inhabitants were not expelled, but held in bondage as thralls, the Norsemen must have dwelt, and dwelt thickly too, as conquerors and lords." The foregoing extract gives a description which investigation corroborates. The blank in the history of Galloway after the termination of the Strath-Cluyd kingdom is now fully met. The only difficulty is to determine at what date Galloway became separated from Strath-Cluyd. Earl (Jarl) Malcolm, who lived near Whithorne in 1014, is the first Norseman specially named. His place of residence is believed to have been Cruggleton Castle, of historic renown in after-times. Eogan the Bald, who fought at Carham, and died in 1018, was the last King of Strath-Cluyd. We have thus only a difference of four years, and certain it is that Earl Malcolm was in Galloway, and evidently located there as one in possession. In the 'Burnt Njal,' we find the following: "They (Norsemen) then sailed north to Berwick (the Solway), and laid up their ship, and fared up into Whitherne in Scotland, and were with Earl Malcolm that year." The annals of Tigearnach and Ulster record the death of Suibne, son of the King of Galloway. This is clearly a mistake. The translation is: 1034, "Malcolm, son of Kenneth, King of Alban, head of the nobility of the whole of

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Western Europe, died. Suibne, son of Kenneth, King of Galloway, died." We have in the first part a good specimen of the absurd language in use—"of the nobility of the whole of Western Europe"—pure nonsense. As to Suibne, there is no trace in history to support such a statement. In the Irish Annals the name Suibne is often found, but connected with Ireland. In A.D. 593, we find Suibne, King of Ulidia. In 611, Suibne-Meann, sovereign of Ireland, &c. The name is thus of ancient Irish standing. Lastly, in Adamnannus's 'Life of St Columba,' we find Suibne, King of Dalaraidhe. This may be the individual meant, as it is about the same period. The passage may have been miswritten, as it may mean that Kenneth as King of Scotland was also King of Galloway; but here again there is a difficulty, for there is no record of Kenneth having a son so named. Another point certain from close investigation is, that Jarl (Earl) Thorfinn (son of Sigurd II.) ruled over Galloway in 1034, the time mentioned, and continued to do so until his death in 1064 or 1066. In 1034 he was twenty-seven years of age. In Scottish history we learn nothing of him, although in possession of a large part of Scotland. During his lifetime he ruled Galloway from Solway to Carrick. The 'Flateyjarbók' contains the 'Orkneyinga Saga' complete in successive portions; and in Munch's 'Historie et Chronicon Manniæ,' Earl Thorfinn is distinctly mentioned. It is also related that Earl Gille had married a sister of Sigurd II., and acted as his lieutenant in the Sudreys. He is said to have resided at Koln, either the island of Coll or Colon-

say; and when Sigurd fell at Clontarf in 1014, he took Thorfinn the youngest son under his protection, while the elder brothers went to the Orkneys, and divided the northern dominions amongst them. The two elder brothers died early in life, and Brusi accepted a pension for his claim; therefore when Thorfinn grew up he found himself possessed of nine earldoms in Scotland, to which he added all Galloway. Munch thinks they were Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, Moray, Buchan, Athol, Lorn, Argyle, and Galloway. To quote from Munch: "The 'Orkneyinga Saga' says so expressly. Outliving his elder brothers, he (Thorfinn) became the lord of Orkney and Shetland; Caithness was given to him by his maternal grandfather, King Malcolm Mac-Malbrigid; and after the death of Malcolm in 1029, he sustained a successful war with King Malcolm Mackenneth of the southern dynasty, conquered Sutherland and Ross, and made himself lord of Galloway, in the widest sense of this denomination—viz., from Solway to Carrick—where he resided for long periods, and whence he made successful inroads, sometimes on Cumberland, sometimes upon Ireland. He possessed, besides the Sudreys and part of Ireland, not less than nine earldoms in Scotland," &c. As Munch further states, all the Hebrides and a large kingdom in Ireland were also his. The Skeld Arnor, who personally visited him, and made a poem in his honour, testifies in it that his kingdom extended from Thurso rocks to Dublin. He also mentions that Thorfinn obtained possession of eleven earldoms in Scotland, all the Sudreyar (Hebrides), and a large territory in Ireland.

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He further states that Thorfinn sent men into England to foray, and then, having collected a force from the places named, he sailed from England, where he had two pitched battles: as Arnor gives it—

“South of Man did these things happen.”

This is contemporary evidence. In 1035, when Ragnwald arrived from Norway, Thorfinn was much occupied in Scotland, and they made an alliance by which Ragnwald was to have his part of Orkney free of contest, under condition of assisting Thorfinn with all the forces he could command. This alliance lasted ten years, and during that time Thorfinn made many incursions into England and Ireland. He generally resided in the south during the summer months, and in Caithness, or rather the Orkney and Shetland Isles, during the winter. They quarrelled, however, and Ragnwald was slain in 1045. Thorfinn died about 1064 (or 1066?), says Munch, or sixty years after King Malcolm (Malbrigid, his mother's father, who had given him the title of earl), so far as the exact dates can be ascertained. There were at this time two Malcolms called Kings of Scotland. As pointed out by Munch ('Chronicon Manniæ'), the historians of Scotland have confounded the two, and made them one and the same, as if only Malcolm II. reigned from 1004 to 1034. This is a subject in regard to which there has been much confusion. What we have given will be found in 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway,' vol. i. p. 9, and vol. ii. p. 31. In regard to Thorfinn, it is stated that he "resided

long at Caithness in a place called Gaddgedlar, where England and Scotland meet." Munch correctly insists that Gaddgedlar meant Galloway, which at the period extended to Annan on the one side and Carrick on the other, in its widest sense—or, in other words, the south-western part of Scotland, from Annandale on the Solway to Carrick opposite Cantyre—and therefore, in the true sense of the word, the boundary towards England. Munch was too careful a writer to confuse such a subject, and gave as his opinion that the sentence was incomplete, having been incorrectly copied from the original MS. This belief has been proved to be correct, as we will hereafter show. The 'Chronica Regum Manniæ' was written apparently before the middle of the fourteenth century, and many entries, there is reason to believe, were contemporary, as well as those of the Sagas and 'Codex Flateyensis.' Any one who has studied the old writers knows well how the spelling of the word Galloway has been distorted. It is found Galwydia, Galwayth, &c. In the Irish Annals, Gallyhaedel is the common appellation of the district. With so many spellings, to be transformed into Gaddgedlar in the Norse was not difficult. In 'Celtic Scotland' it has been rendered Gadyeddi. It was known to the Welsh as Galwydel, and to the Irish as Gallgaidel, from which Gallweithia. The name implies a mixed population, of Gall, a stranger (Norsemen in this case), and of Ghaedal (Celts). The compound word was probably applied to the district where the mixture of the population was at that time the greatest. Besides Galloway being

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opposite to Cumberland and Ireland, it was in the very centre of the movements of the Norsemen. We have had much assistance from other eminent Norse scholars, but that Gaddgedlar meant Galloway has been confirmed beyond dispute by the late G. Vigfusson, who communicated to us privately the missing passage before his 'Collection of Sagas' was in the press. He found it in a Danish translation, made in A.D. 1615, and preserved in Stockholm, from an ancient Icelandic vellum, which is no longer in existence. The existing printed text of the 'Orkneyinga Saga' was founded on the 'Flatayensis' only. The passage in its purity is, "Sat Porfinner jarl löngum á Katanesi en Rögnvaldr i Eyjum. Pat var á einu sumri at Porfinnr jarl herjadi um Sudreyjar ok vestan um Skotland. Hann lā par sem Gaddgedlar heita, par mætist Skotland ok England. Hann hafdi gjört frā sēr lid sudr ā England at Strandhöggi." The rough translation is: "Earl Thorfinn dwelt for the most part in Caithness, but Rognvald in the Isles. One summer Earl Thorfinn made war in the Hebrides and the west of Scotland. He lay at the place called Gaddgedlar, where Scotland and England meet. He had sent some from himself men to England for a strand-head (coast foray)." We will give Mr Vigfusson's notes, which he sent to us in regard to the foregoing: "(1) En Rognwaldr. Hann lā, is taken from the translation—the careless copyist of the 'Flatayensis' having here omitted and transposed a whole important passage. The suggestion of the late Norse historian, P. A. Munch, is thus conclusively proved to be true, both as to the iden-

tification of Gaddgedlar = Galloway (the translator spells it Gaardgellar), as also to the unsound state of the text. Munch surmised that after 'Katanesi' something, the copula 'ok' or the like, had been dropped out. It now is found that a whole sentence has been omitted or transposed. (2) We have followed the translator, where the text runs thus: Gaardgellar der mödis Engeland oc, Scotland da haff de han Sendt nogen af sin Krigs folck hen paa Engeland, &c. The 'Flateyensis' is here all confusion."¹ As we have shown, Thorfinn ruled over a large part of Scotland and a part of Ireland. He also carried his sway to portions of England, and at one time was the chief of the Thingmen. He went to Rome, supposed about A.D. 1050, saw the Pope, and obtained absolution for all his sins. His position is thus shown to have been not only that of a warrior, but also of a conqueror. That Galloway was under his sway is clear. This opinion is fully entertained among the learned in Copenhagen; and as mentioned to us, arising from our investigations, great interest has been evinced in the universities there in regard to Galloway, considering it at one time to have belonged to the sea-kings. It thus appears to us as very strange how the occupation of the district, in the full sense, by the Norsemen has escaped the notice of those who have entered on Galloway history. The desire to make the Fergus line of Lords of Galloway the ancient inheritors, has blinded research. If the character of the people had only been considered, such an omission would not have occurred;

¹ See p. 32, vol. xi., 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway.'

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for we think no one will be bold enough to dispute the fact that the fortresses on the coast were built by the Norsemen. Having incurred such labour, is it to be supposed for one moment that they were erected as coast ornaments, or that the fierce natives of Galloway would have permitted such erections if they had not been subdued? All the Danish records tell us of a conquered people. The fortresses never could have been built under other circumstances. Earl Thorfinn ruled Galloway until his death in 1064 or 1066. It is also given in A.D. 1057. As mentioned in the 'Orkneyinga Saga,' he built Christ's Kirk in Birsay, and established there the first bishop's see in the Orkneys.

The successor of Thorfinn in power was evidently Diarmid M'Nalambo, chief of the Danes in Dublin and the Isles—as 'Tigearnach' calls him, "King of the Britons." The following is the entry in the 'Tigearnach,' under date 1072: "Diarmid, son of Malnambo, King of the Britons, Insi-Gall, and Dublin, slain by Concobur O'Malsechlan in the battle of Odba, and great slaughter made of the Galls, and men of Leinster with him." About eight years after the death of Thorfinn, the Norsemen made pretensions to be Kings of the Britons of Strath-Cluyd. Again we find, under date 1075: "Nam Donaldum filium, Thadæi O'Brian quam Anno Christi 1075, Manniæ ac Insularum proceres regni sui protectorem acceperunt, Insi-Gall et Gallgædelu regem Hibernice dictum reperio." This seems to imply that Galloway was nominally under Irish rule in 1075, and under Malcolm Canmore.

The translators of the 'Annals of Ulster and Tigearnach' support this view; but, as already stated, the Gall-Gaedhál in Irish were those of mixed parents, and applied to that country as much as it could to Galloway. This opinion is confirmed by the history of the district, which does not admit of rule by any Irish king located in Ireland at any period. The people to a large extent were then settlers from Ireland, as we have already dealt with in its proper place; but during the emigration the district was a portion of Strath-Cluyd with its own kings. There was no doubt much intercourse with Ireland, as to be expected. The Norse Sagas bring Magnus Barefoot in as king between 1093 and 1103, when he was killed in Ireland.

From the 'Chronicle of the Kings of Man,' we find that there was much fighting in that island in 1065 and 1066, which ended in Godred Crovan (the son of Harold the Black) in the last-named year being the conqueror. He then reduced Dublin, and a great part of Laynester (Leinster). It goes on to state,—“As for the Scots, he brought them to such subjection that if any one of them built a ship or boat, they durst not drive above three nails in it.” As we all know, the Isle of Man has Galloway as the nearest Scottish coast, and that much intercommunication has always existed. It is almost unnecessary, therefore, to state that the Galwegians were the Scots referred to. He also, as stated in 'Gregory's Highlanders,' maintained a successful war with Malcolm Canmore. Even without other decided evidence, what can be more conclusive of the district having been

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under Norse rule, when Godred could exercise such power the year after Thorfinn died. We also find a subsequent entry in the 'Chronicles of Man,' to the effect that when Magnus, King of Norway, landed at the Mull in 1093, he compelled the inhabitants to assist in procuring stone and timber for the erection of fortresses, or, to give it from the Chronicles (see p. 126): "MXCVIII. Magnus rex Norwegiæ . . . Galwalienses ita constrictit, ut cogerit eos materias lignorum cædere, et ad littus, portare, ad munitiones construendas." The translation of which is, "Under date 1098, Magnus, King of Norway, so bridled the Galwegians that he compelled them to cut down timber, and carry it to the shore, for the construction of fortresses." According to Camden, these fortresses were in the Isle of Man, which agrees with all we can gather. In Dr Skene's 'Chronicles of Picts and Scots,' we are told of a "Princeps Noricus who had annexed lands surrounded by the sea," at a time when Scotland was for six years and nine months without a king. The opinion formed thereon is, that it refers to the occupation of the Isles by Magnus Barefoot, in the interval between the death of King Malcolm (Canmore) in 1093, and the establishment of Edgar on the throne of Scotland in September 1097; but this interval was only three years and ten months. Moreover, Donald Bane was twice king in that interval, and Duncan for a few months was also king. The difference as to time, and the fact that Galloway is in a measure surrounded by the sea, makes it evident as being of an earlier period—viz., the conquest by Earl

Malcolm, and then Thorfinn. This opinion is to some extent supported by Fordun, who states that Malcolm Canmore did nothing worthy of note during the first eight or nine years of his reign. The reply is, how could he, when Earl Thorfinn held nine earldoms or districts in Scotland? All this agrees with the Sagas. In 'Early Britain, &c.' it is admitted that Thorfinn, a grandson of Malcolm (Malbrigid) from whom he had received the title of earl, was most powerful at this time, yet adding that the Sagas magnify his power, while allowing that he aided Macbeth against Malcolm, son of Duncan; and it was only in 1057 that Malcolm, having been in possession for some time of the country south of the Forth, conquered and slew Macbeth at Lumphanan in Mar. The facts are, however, that the destruction of Carlisle by the Norsemen towards the close of the ninth century, and their occupation of Northumbria, &c., about the same date, must have greatly facilitated the conquest by Thorfinn. In short, Malcolm Canmore does not appear to have had much power in Scotland from April 1058, when Lulach was slain, until he married Ingibiorg, widow of Thorfinn, and thereby secured the support, of a portion at least, of the Norse settlers; and this period of seven years corresponds with the six years and nine months of the document.

The issue from the foregoing marriage was Duncan, whom our Scottish historians have always incorrectly mentioned as a bastard. Duncan dethroned Donald Bane in May 1094, and was assassinated eighteen months afterwards. We

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have given an account of him and his issue under "Mochrum, parish of Mochrum," in 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway.' We may add here that in the Irish Annals, 'Chronicum Scotorum,' the death of Malcolm is recorded, the translation of which is: "Maelcoluim, son of Douchadh, King of Alba, and Edward his son, were slain by Franks (Normans), and Margarita, Maelcoluim's wife, died of grief of him." The date given is 1098. There can, we think, be no question that the principal fortresses in Galloway were erected in the time of Jarls, or Earls, Malcolm and Thorfinn, long before the appearance of King Magnus, styled in the Annals, 'Chronicum Scotorum,' as King of Lachlann. His descent was in 1093. He returned to Norway in 1099. In 1102 he came back, and was killed in Connaught, Ireland, in 1103. He was buried in St Patrick's Church, Down. He only reigned over the Western Isles for six years, when he was succeeded by Olave, who was a pacific prince, and his confederacy with Ireland and Scotland so close, that no one presumed to disturb the peace of these isles while he lived. He married Affrica, daughter of Fergus, Lord of Galloway. The 'Inquisitio Davidis,' a nearly contemporary document, particularly notices the influx of a Gentile, *alias* heathen, population, and this could only be the Norsemen, as both Irish, Scots, and Saxons (so called) were Christians, in theory at least, for two or three centuries before that time. It is not necessary to write more as to the certainty of Galloway

having been fully held by Thorfinn; but we may give another source of evidence of the occupation of the district by the Norsemen, in a MS. in the Cottonian Collection, Claudius D. 11, British Museum, entitled, "Description of Britain in the Twelfth Century," which distinctly places Galloway in the Danelage (Dena-lagu or Danelagh—that is, the Danes Community or Settlement), and at the very period we have given from other authorities. It will be found in Skene's 'Picts and Scots.' We have seen the original, of which the following is a copy: "To Danelage, bilimpit, quod Latine dicitur incumbunt et pertinent, scilicet quinque provincie cum omnibus suis appendiciis, scilicet, Deira que modo vocatur Northumberland, scilicet, tota terra que est inter magnum flumen Humbri et Tedè flumen et ultra usque ad flumen Forthi magni, scilicet, Loonia, et Galweya, et Albania tota, que modo Scocia vocatur, et Mornia, et Omnes insule Occidentales Oceani usque at Norwegiam et usque Daciam, scilicet, Kathenessia, Orkaneya, Enchegal, et Man, et Ordas, et Gurth, et cetera insule occidentales oceani circa Norwegiam et Daciam, et Fytonschire, quod Latine dicitur quindecim comitatus, scilicet Everwykshire, Nottinghamschire, Derbyshire, Leycestreshire, Lincolneschire, Herefordshire, Bokynghschire, Suffolkschire, Norffolkschire, Bedefordshire, Essexshire, Grantebreggeschire, Hunte-doneschire, Northamptoneschire, Middelsexschire." We may add to the foregoing that Moray, and all land north of a line drawn from Inverness to Fort-William, was also in the Danelage, together

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with all the West Highlands on the coast, with the islands. We will give the following as a translation of the ancient MS.: "To the Danelagh (bilim-pit, as is said in Latin) belong, viz., Deira, which is now called Northumberland, viz., all the land which is between the great river Humber and the river Tweed, and beyond as far as the river of the great Forth, viz., Loonia (Lothians) and Galloway, and the whole of Albania, which is now called Scotland, and Moronia, and all the western islands of the ocean as far as Norway, and as far as Dacia, viz., Kathensia (Caithness), Orkney, Enchehal, and Man, and Ordas and Gurth, and the rest of the western islands about Norway, and Dacia, and Fytonshire, which in Latin is called fifteen counties, viz., Warwickshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Herefordshire, Buckinghamshire, Suffolk, Norfolk, Bedfordshire, Essex, Cambridgeshire (?), Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire, Middlesex." Desirous to give full statements, we have written this interesting MS. in a way, we hope, to be understood by all. There is no date attached to it. After a careful comparison with others having dates, there can be, however, no doubt that it was written about the year 1330. We were confirmed in this opinion by those in charge of the MSS. section. It would appear that errors of importance have been made, as shown—for after several districts are named, it is added that the whole of Scotland was held, which is clearly a mistake. This and some other questionable holdings rather detracts from it; but yet, while admitting this, as a whole the MS. is of value.

The Northern Sagas, 870-75, show that the mass of the population then in Galloway was of the Cymri race, sometimes called Brythons; but the Irish-Scots or Gaels, from the counties Antrim and Down, the particulars in regard to whom we have already given, must also have been numerous, for in 876 the Cymri were under their rule, and those who would not submit to the yoke retreated to Wales to rejoin their countrymen in that quarter. All of this we have already dealt with. Sigurd II. (father of Thorfinn), is stated in the 'Annals of Innisfallen' to have had two parties of Britons fighting under him at Clontarf (1014, when he was slain), who are understood to have belonged to Galloway. His relative, Earl Malcolm, was then residing near Whitherne, as believed in Cruggleton Castle, built by him or other Norsemen who preceded, and where, as stated in the 'Njall Saga,' Kari, Solmund's son, passed the winter with Earl Malcolm. The term Briton must have been misapplied, as much as that of Pict has been to the people then in Galloway, which subject, as regards the latter term, we have already dealt with. The Norsemen have left various marks of their occupation of Galloway in the names of places and also in surnames. Under the alleged Saxon occupation, which is erroneous, we have referred to Boreland, Ingleston, and Carleton, at pp. 87, 88. The two first are from the Norse, and the last from an Irish personal name. The Lothians were for a time in the possession of the Anglo-Saxons (so called), and yet, after careful investigation, the first is not to be found there, and the second, only once, in West

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Lothian. We find a Boreland in Peeblesshire, a property so called in Cumnock parish, and Boardland in Dunlop parish, Ayrshire. There are also lands so called in Dumfriesshire, near the mouth of the Nith, which Timothy Pont gives in his Survey as North, Mid, and South Bordland. The Borelands in Galloway are so numerous that we must deal with them as one, for there are fourteen farms with the name in the Stewartry, and three in Wigtonshire. In Brewer's 'Dictionary of Phrase and Fable,' Bordlands is interpreted to mean "lands kept by lords in Saxon times for the supply of their own board or table." This approaches the true meaning, and is all that can be found until we come to the Norse, when it is cleared up. We find in the Orkneys, where the Norsemen's headquarters were, that part of the ancient estate of the Jarls (Earls) of Orkney and Shetland consisted of the "*bordlands*," which were the quarters of the Jarls when occasionally travelling through the islands, and therefore exempt from *skatt*, the tax upon all land occupied by the Udellers or Odellers, for the expense of government. This *skatt* or *scat* was an ancient land-tax payable to the Crown of Norway. *Skatta* in Norse is to make tributary, and *skatt*-land is tributary land. The Udellers held land by uninterrupted succession without any original charter, and without subjection to feudal service, or the acknowledgment of any superior. The exemption of the "bordlands" from *skatt* or land-tax is shown in some old rentals of Orkney. In a rental dated 30th April 1503, there is the following entry: "Memorandum, That

all the Isle of Hoy is of the ald Erldome and Bordland, quhilk payit nevir scat." There are several similar entries relating to other Bordlands in the same rental. In a later rental, bearing date 1595, there are several farms entered—viz., "Hanga-back, na scat, quia Borland," &c. Numerous other entries of the same description are given. In a rental dated in 1614, the farms we have mentioned are entered as paying "na scat, quia Bowland," and we give this to show the confusion copyists, unacquainted with the meaning, and unable to read correctly, have caused in various other subjects. In this case Bordland is corrupted into Bowland. We were indebted for the above information to that well-known Norse authority, the late Mr Petrie, for thirty years Clerk of Supply for Orkney. His services to others have been acknowledged in the last edition of Jamieson's 'Scottish Dictionary,' and in various other works. In Caithness-shire, another stronghold of the Norsemen, there are no Borelands now known; but in the old title-deeds of the estate of Murkle, which lies along the sea-coast to the south of the Pentland Firth, a portion of it in the titles is styled Borland, Borlands, and Borlands of Murkle. The name, however, has been dropped, and it is not now known. This is to be regretted, for the changing of names is ruinous to the ancient history of a district. The only other name in this county approaching Boreland is Bortum, a farm on the estate of Sandside, in Reay parish, within a mile of the sea-coast. Mr Millar, Clerk of Supply for Caithness-shire, gave us the foregoing information. That the Borelands in Gal-

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loway have a similar derivation as those in the Orkneys cannot be doubted. The old spelling in Galloway is "Bordland," as the old deeds will show. The same refers to the lands already mentioned at the mouth of the Nith, Dumfriesshire side. Bordland, in fact, appears to be the proper spelling throughout Scotland. In Fifeshire the Norsemen were strong, and in a charter granted by King Robert I. we have in Robertson's Index, "Charter to John Weymis, the barony of Lucharis, the toun of Lutheris, and Bordland," &c. Another, by King Robert III., in the same county, "Bordland, in barony of Cleis." The last we will give is "Charter to Nicolas Skirmischour of the lands of Hillhead and Southe Bordland, &c., quhilk was Roger Moubray's, 16 blench, ane pair of gilt spurs."

The other special name is Engleston or Ingleston, which we mentioned at p. 87. In regard to it there are at least two opinions, one being that it is derived from "English," and another from the Scottish "ingle," a chimney, or rather fireplace. There are several farms bearing the name in Galloway, and one so called in West Lothian. In a charter granted by King David II., lands so called have it spelled Inglynstoun, and in another charter by Robert II., it is Inglystoun (Robertson's Index of Charters). Pont, in his map drafted between 1608-20, spells it "Englishtoun," which cannot be accepted, for it is obviously incorrect. The surname of Inglis found in Scotland is the root of this error, as the assumption has been that it is a corruption of "English"; but opposed to this idea is the fact that although several in-

dividuals named Inglis are to be found in the possession of lands at an early period, not one of them is styled of Ingliston or Inglystoun. The Inglises of Manner seem to have been the chief family, and they held the lands of Branksome or Branksholm, afterwards possessed by the Scotts (Buccleuch). The Ingliston in West Lothian probably got the name from Inglis of Cramond, the first of which family was a merchant in Edinburgh about 1560, the Reformation time. It has also been overlooked that "English" is a distinct English surname borne by families in England, and any affinity with it and Inglis has no other basis than some similarity in sound. We still adhere to the same opinion as given by us in 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway,' that the farms in Galloway called Engleston or Ingleston have nothing to do with the surname Inglis, or as Englishtoun; but were given from the nature or character of the land, and is from the Norse *engi* for meadow-land, or a meadow, which is also found in Anglo-Saxon as *ing* or *inge*, a pasture, a meadow. The erroneous statements in connection with the name of the lands now called Carleton, in the district, have been refuted by us in our account of the alleged Anglo-Saxon occupation of Galloway, as it is a corruption of Cairillton, an Irish name with *ton* as the suffix.

We have thus dealt with Boreland, Engleston or Ingleston, and Carleton, advanced by Mackenzie in his 'History of Galloway' as being some slight proof of an Anglo-Saxon occupation. We have shown that the two first have a Norse origin, and

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the third is from an Irish-Scottish name. We may add that the suffix *ton* is from the Norse, being a corruption of *tun*, an abode, a farm, buildings, and also a toun. We have mentioned elsewhere that in ancient times the Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish were one language with unimportant variations, which is corroborated by Worsaae (F.I.A.) of Copenhagen, a royal commissioner for the preservation of the national monuments of Denmark, and author of 'Primæval Antiquities,' &c. In 1846 he was sent by King Christian VIII. to gather all that is extant of the Danish and Norwegian memorials in the British Isles, and in 1852 was published his work entitled 'Danes and Norwegians.' It was soon out of print, but a book-hunter agent obtained for us a second-hand copy in good condition, which we value. He refers to many well-known words—of such as "dale," as Kirkdale, &c., and also "fell," the common name in Galloway and Cumberland for a hill, which is similarly spelled in the Norse (Icelandic). In the Danish it is *fjæld*, and Swedish *fjall*. Worsaae mentions that the names of places ending in "by" are to be found only in the districts selected by the Norsemen for conquest or colonisation—as Lockerby, in Dumfriesshire, Appleby and Sorby (a parish, and some farms corrupted to "bie"), in Wigtonshire, &c. Sorby is also to be found in North Yorkshire and Cumberland, where settlements existed. Camden mentions a peninsula called "Flegg," in Norfolk, where the Danes had settled, and that in a little compass of ground there were thirteen villages ending in "by," a

Danish word signifying a village or dwelling-place ; and hence the *bi-lagines* of the Danish writers, and the "by-laws" in England, come to signify such laws as are peculiar to each town or village. It is also sometimes in the form of *bui*, a dweller, an inhabitant, whereas *bær* or *byr* or *bæ* mean a village, &c. Pollbæ, in Wigtonshire, should in correct form be Pollrbæ, the marshy or boggy farm. We entered on this subject in our historical sketch to vol. ii. of 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway.' It is of importance, as it goes to prove with other evidence what we have held to all along, that instead of a mere coast occupation, as generally believed, Galloway was in the full possession of the Norsemen. We were therefore glad to find in Professor MacKinnon's article, No. VI., on 'The Norse Elements,' published in the 'Scotsman,' 2d December 1887, the following from his pen : "*Beer, byr*, 'a village,' becomes *by*, and marks the Danish settlements in England—Whitby, Derby, Selby, Appleby ; and in the Isle of Man, Dalby, Salby, Jurby. This form is not common in the Isles. There is *Europie*, 'beach village,' in Lewis, hence the 'Europa Point' of the maps. There is *Soroby* in Tyree, and *Soroba* near Oban. *Shiaba* (*Schabbay* in old records), on the south of Mull, contains the root. So do *Nereby* and *Connisby* (*konung*, a 'king's village') in Islay, *Canisby* in Caithness, and *Smerby* in Kintyre." We give these extracts as additional corroboration of what was written by us in 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway' some years ago. The Professor evidently missed Galloway and Cumberland,

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two great strongholds of the Norsemen. Another opinion, which appeared previously to Professor MacKinnon's 'The Norse Elements,' is to the effect that the derivation of *bæ* is to be found in the Gaelic, being from *beithe*, in that language for birch-tree. Now, if this tree had been scarce, and therefore so attractive as to call for special attention, such might have been understood; but as indigenous to the soil, and plentiful in every part of Galloway in times past—which is proved, not only from living specimens, but as found in various stages of decay in many of the peat-bogs—places the matter almost beyond dispute that in such abundance it afforded no descriptive value if given to a place. Again, although Gaelic was spoken in Galloway, it was not—in fact was unknown—in Cumberland, where the *by* as the suffix to names of places is plentiful. In other parts of England it is found in addition to the list we have already mentioned. We would also expect the Highlands to be studded with places so named, inland as well as on the coast, for the birch-tree is also indigenous in that part; and although phonetically pronounced *bæ*, yet written it would be correctly spelled and appear as *bheithe*, and each place distinguished as the Coille - bheithe—the birch or birchen wood. The name being applied to an extent of country where such trees abounded can be understood, and is so found in the Lowlands in a nearly correct form, as Beith parish, and the town so called, a portion of which in the parish so named is in Ayrshire and a part in Renfrewshire.

To continue the general subject, the word *flow*, well known in Galloway as denoting marshy moorland, is from the Norse *fløi*, for a marshy moor. The names of places beginning or ending with *garth* or *guard* show where the Scandinavians were settled in *gaarde* or farms, which belonged to the Danish chiefs, or Udellers (*holdus* from old Norsk *hölldr*). Worsaae mentions that these seem to have been the property of the peasants, on condition of their paying certain rents to their feudal lords, and binding themselves to contribute to the defence of the country. In Galloway we have Garthland and Cogarth as examples. Worsaae does not seem to have visited the district, but to have been in Dumfriesshire, as he refers to Tundergarth, Applegarth, and Huntgarth. The Holms he also notices, which are to be found in Galloway and other parts of Scotland, also in England where the Norsemen had settlements. The name is from the Norse *holmr*, meaning an island in a loch or river, or a plain at the side of a river. In Orkney there is the parish and Sound so called, also four islands. In Shetland there are three small islands, and at Skye there is one, &c. Among many other Norse names in Galloway, there is Tung or Tongue. Worsaae calls the "Kyles of Tongue," in Sutherlandshire, pure Norwegian. Fleet, the name of a river in Anwoth parish, is from the Norse *flot*, pronounced in Anglo-Saxon *flēot*. In the parish of Stoneykirk are the farms and bay of Float, locally stated to have been so called from the wreck of one of the ships of the Spanish Armada; and to make it complete, the headland close to, corrupted from the

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Gaelic word *monadh*, the hill-head, to "Money-head," from money supposed to have been lost from the wreck. Such derivations are erroneous. The name Float is from the Norse *flött*, which means a plain; and the access from the bay, with the character of the farms so called, together with the history of the lands adjoining, fully bear out the Norse meaning. One of the Orkney Isles is called Flotta. It was the residence of the historiographer appointed by the Crown of Norway to gather information: his work was therefore called 'Codex Flotticensis.' The Norse word Borg, given to a parish, is now spelled Borgue; and Gata corrupted to Galtway. In the Bay of Luce, or rather in the offing, are the "Scar Rocks," and, without reference to them, Worsaae mentions *sker* or *skjær* as the Norse for isolated rocks in the sea, which those we refer to truly are. Begbie (Bagbie) and Killiness are also Norse. The Norse names in Galloway are far from being exhausted, as will be found by reference to the parishes and lands given in 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway.' Worsaae refers to Tinwald in Dumfriesshire as undoubtedly identical with Thingvall or Tingvold, the appropriate Scandinavian or Norse term for places where the Thing was held. Elsewhere he states that they settled their disputes and arranged their public affairs at the Things. In connection with this he mentions Dingwall in Cromarty, Tingwall in the Shetland Isles, and Tynewald or Tingwall in the Isle of Man. We will only add here one other word, and a well-known one over Scotland—viz., kirk, which is from *kirke*, the Danish for church. In the old

Norse it is *kirkja*. In the same language there is *kirke-gaard* or *garth*, and *kirkju-gaardr*, a kirk or churchyard. In the German it is *kirche*, and in Anglo-Saxon, *church*. Worsaae correctly mentions that old Irish authors called the inhabitants of Denmark *Dublochlanoch* — dark Lochans — the word *Lochan* with them being the usual appellation for Scandinavia. It is also given as *Lochlin* and *Lochlann*. In the Gaelic it is somewhat similar, as in that language *Dubh-Lochlinneach* means a Dane, and *Fionn-Lochlinneach*, a Norwegian. The latter are also found called *Finnghainte* in Gaelic. Worsaae repeats that the best and oldest Irish Chronicles distinguish between the light-haired *Finn-Lochannoch* or *Fionn Lochlannaigh*, the Norwegians, and the dark-haired *Dubh Lochlannoch* or *Dubh Lochlannaigh*, the Danes; or, what is the same, between *Dubhgall*, *Dubh-Ghoill*, and *Finnngall*, *Fionn-Ghoill*. In 'Gregory's Highlanders' the supposition is expressed that the distinction may have arisen from their clothing, or in the sails of their vessels. We mention this, but do not follow it. In connection with the word *lochan*, there are lands so called not far from Garthland, in the parish of Stoneykirk.

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While the Norse Jarls (Earls) held Galloway, we always find it mentioned in history that they wintered in Caithness. This we could not understand until we learned from a report made by the Registrar of Mid and South Yell that the temperature of the Shetland Islands in winter is much milder than can be found in any part of the east or inland districts of Scotland or England, enjoying

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from fifteen to thirty degrees (Fahrenheit) of higher temperature during winter, and as much cooler during summer, caused by the Gulf Stream, which circulates around the islands, and keeps the sea about forty-four degrees in winter and fifty-four degrees in summer, thus causing a continuous vegetation, and preserving a medium temperature, both restorative and comfortable. Caithness is certainly distinct from the Orkney Isles, as they are from those of Shetland; but the climate is the same in both isles, and the part of Caithness where the Norse Jarls resided may be equally mild, but in this instance Caithness is evidently written for the Shetland Isles or Orkney, where the Norsemen had habitations. The Jarls thus understood comfort and the enjoyment of a genial clime. We were previously under the idea that the Gulf Stream exhausted its power on the west coasts of Ireland and Scotland.

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KINGS OF
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We have thus traced the rulers of Galloway to the beginning of the twelfth century. Malcolm (Ceanmor) was King of Scotland to 1093, but his power was limited until he married the widow of Thorfinn, as already mentioned, and thus secured, more or less, the support of the Norse settlers. He had tried to increase his power by making Scotland a refuge for refugees from England, to obtain their support against his own people, for the other districts remained as separate provinces. To this may be traced the subsequent rapid acquirement of lands and honours by so many foreigners. We may add here that Malcolm, King of Scotland, was

succeeded by Donald (Bane); he again was dethroned by Duncan in 1094; Donald (Bane) restored in 1095; Edgar succeeded in 1097; and Alexander I. in 1107. The two latter were brothers. King Edgar left his younger brother David the whole district (excepting the Lothians) south of the Firths of Forth and Clyde, which also proves that Galloway was not independent, but seized by the Kings of Scotland after the overthrow of the Norse rule, ending with Magnus. David, both as Prince of Cumbria, and afterwards as King of Scotland, may be said to have resided at Carlisle (as Cumberland continued to be a portion of Scotland), and sometimes at Cadzow (now Hamilton), Lanarkshire. We may mention that the original name of the parish and barony was Cadyhou, Cad-you, or Cadzow. It was changed to Hamilton in 1445, by a charter granted to James, first Lord Hamilton, by King James II. King David's love for the south was to the end, for he was found dead in his bed at Carlisle on the 24th May 1153. His holding of Galloway was important, as the first trustworthy record of the district, bearing the name it still retains, is in a charter of his when Earl David, to the monks of Selkirk in 1113, granting to them the tenth of his *can* (*cain*, the Gaelic for tribute, tax, &c.) from Galloway, which was the tax paid to the superior. Both he and his successor, Malcolm, also enforced the right of the Bishop of Galloway to the payment of tithes in the district. Earl David did not succeed to the throne for eleven years afterwards, but that he was prince over Galloway, with Cumberland, &c., is evident. He could

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not have held this position when King Magnus the Norseman ruled over the people of Galloway with such severity, but would appear to have obtained it after his death in 1103, or rather after his brother King Edgar's death, the 10th January 1106-7. In fact, there is nothing to be found to justify the belief that the Kenneth line of Kings of Scotland had any power in Galloway after its separation from the kingdom of Strath-Cluyd on the break-up of that kingdom in 1018. It only commenced when the Norse rule was at an end. As Prince of Cumbria, David, under the King of Scotland (his brother), took the place of the old Kings of Strathclyde, excluding Cumberland. It is recorded in the 'An-Buellan' that he was styled David I., King of Alban and the Britons. He is the first to be found so called. By the aid of Normans and Anglians, whom he introduced into the district, he held and ruled Strathclyde, and it is only from this time that it became *de facto* a part of Scotland.

THE
LORDS OF
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CHURCH.

That there were any Lords of Galloway prior to Prince David's time is a mistake. The impossibility of such is clear. The fact that two chiefs led the natives at the Battle of the Standard in 1138 has been heretofore seized on to supply the want, and an erroneous descent made out. The names of the chiefs were Ulgric and Dovenald.¹ The first has sometimes (not often) been assumed as the progenitor of the M'Cullochs; while the latter to this day is held (by some) to have been

¹ The name is also spelled Duvenald. We give both spellings as found by us.

a M'Douall, and the progenitor of the Fergus line of Lords of Galloway. Investigation, however, supports neither statement. We were unable for some time to trace the race of Ulgric or Ulric, but at length found it to be Danish; several bearing the name in Northumberland, &c., having been discovered, among whom was Ulric or Elric the Dane, who succeeded Uchtred as Earl of Northumberland, an account of which is given under Mochrum in 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway.' There is a parish in Caithness-shire still called Olrick; and also in the valley of Barbreck, near Drimree, Craignish parish, Argyllshire, there is a grey stone which denotes the spot where Ulric, a Danish chief, was slain. Also, at the same place, a tumulus marks a grave which, as is said, is that of Olave, a Dane, who engaged the Scottish king in single combat, and fell. We have next to deal with Dovenald, whom Chalmers claims as the son of Dunegal of Strathnith, and to have resided at Morton Castle on the Nith, the ruins of which still remain. To complete the utter confusion of dates and every other point, it has also been mentioned that Dunegal of Strathnith appears as a witness to the grant of Annandale, made by David I. to Robert Brus about 1224 (this must be a misprint for 1124). We have seen the charter several times in the original, read it carefully, and Dunegal is not a witness, but his lands are mentioned, and they were only the strath or vale of Nith. Galloway was the boundary of the lands on the west side; Annandale,

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granted to Robert Brus, on the east; and Cumberland (under the Meschines family as governors) on the south. The extent of land owned was therefore not great. There is an idea that Morton Castle, close to Thornhill, belonged to Dunegal. This is improbable. In Macfarlane's MS., in the Advocates' Library, the origin is stated as uncertain. During the minority of David Bruce, Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, kept it (probably built or rebuilt it), and afterwards it passed to that branch of the Douglasses who became Earls of Morton. Under Threave Isle, parish of Balmaghie, we gave a full account of the Douglas family in 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway.' The ancient church of Morton parish may have been built by Dunegal of Strathnith, as supposed by some. It certainly was given by his grandson, Edgar, to the monks of Kelso. These monks were transplanted from Selkirk by King David I. in 1128. They were of the Order of Tyrone, and taken to Selkirk in 1113 by Radulphus, who was the original abbot. In Radulph or Randolph we have another Northman or Norman. Chalmers was the first to discover, or at all events make known to the public, the charter granted by King David I.; but as he has not given it as it really is, we do so in full: "Davidis dei gratia Rex Scotorum Omnibus Beronibus suis et hominibus et amicis Francis et Anglicis Salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse Roberto de Brus Extrahant et totam terram a divisa Dunegal de Stranit usque ad divisam Randulfo Meschinis. Et volo et concedo ut illam terram et suum Castellum bene et honorifice

cum omnibus consuetudinibus suis teneat et habeat videlicet cum omnibus illis consuetudinibus quas Randulfus meschines unquam habuit in Cardville et in terra sua de Cumberlande illo die in quo unquam meliores et liberiores habuit. Testibus: Eustatius filius Johannis et Hugo de Morville et Alans de non (obliterated, but Chalmers has given it as de Perci) et Willielmo de Sumerville et Berengario (de) (E) ngamo et Randulfo de Sules (Soulis) et Willielmo de O Sorville (Chalmers gives it as de Morvill) et Hervi filio Warini Ædmando Camerario (Constable of Scotland in 1130) apud Sconem." A comparison of the foregoing with Chalmers's copy will show that we differ considerably. The original is in the British Museum. It is not in perfect preservation. The size is about three by seven inches. Chalmers gives Dunegal four sons—viz., Radulph, Duvenald, Duncan, and Gillespie. Of the two first mention will be made hereafter, as their names are found as witnesses to charters which we will give. Also, that Sir Thomas Randolph, whose name appears in after-times, was the great-grandson of Dunegal of Strathnith, and was designed Lord of Strathnith before he was created Earl of Moray. Of this more hereafter. Chalmers goes on to state that Duvenald, the second son of Dunegal of Strathnith, appears to have obtained a considerable share of his father's lands in Nithsdale, which he transmitted to his son Edgar, who lived in the time of King William the Lion and Alexander II.; that the progeny of Edgar assumed the name as a surname in the thirteenth century, and that their descendants con-

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tinued to possess various lands in Dumfriesshire. This is correct. In the Kelso Cartulary, in a Carta super ecclesiam de Kylosbern (Closeburn), as a witness there is Edgarus, filius Douenaldi; and in a gift, in 1176-77, to Glasgow Abbey, as a witness we find Gilbto filio edgari. This was in the reign of King William. The leading point, however, to us in Chalmers's statement is his considering it probable that in regard to the two leaders Ulgric and Duvenald, who fell at the Battle of the Standard in 1138, the latter, Duvenald, was the son of Dunegal of Strathnith. Now this alone destroys the whole story about the Fergus line of Lords of Galloway being from the said Duvenald, and confirms our statement that they were distinct. It is clearly shown in the charter of Annandale, granted by King David I. to Robert Brus, that Dunegal's lands were east of the Nith—that is in Dumfriesshire, as now known; that his residence, as stated, was on the bank of the Nith, some distance north of Dumfries, known as Morton Castle, which, although improbable, may have been the site of his abode. We have already given the succession of the rulers of Galloway up to the time of King David I., without a vestige of any Lords of Galloway to that period from whom Fergus can be traced as a descendant; and now, as we are able to show from the statements of those who have supported the idea that Duvenald had nothing to do with eastern or western Galloway, that he was not a governor or chief, but only a second son. The silence about Ulgric, although the more important of the two, is worthy of notice. We have already

mentioned that the name is Danish. The fact that Radulph or Randolph is mentioned as having been the eldest of Dunegal's sons, Duvenald a junior, and the family lands of all the branches being in Dumfriesshire, is conclusive enough against the promoters and supporters of the Duvenald line in Galloway. Besides, it has been overlooked that, if it had been as stated, the senior son, Randolph, would have been the leader at the Battle of the Standard, failing Dunegal himself. In the Kelso Cartulary, we find in grants by King William, who reigned from 1165 to 1214, as a witness "Radulph fil. Dunegal." Also "Rad. filius duneg." As eldest son, Randolph, as Superior of Dumfries, granted a portion of land near the town to the Abbey of Jedburgh in 1147. That Randolph was the eldest son no one disputes. Other opinions have prevailed about Dovenald. As the son of Dunegal, he has been called Duvenal. Another expressed idea is that the Dovenald of the Battle of the Standard, in 1138, was the third son of Radulph or Randolph; that he received from his father the lands of Sanchar, Ellioc, Dunscore, &c., and was slain at the above-mentioned battle when quite a youth. Although so young, as he must have been when killed, Edgar, who lived in the reigns of William the Lion and Alexander II. (A.D. 1165 to 1214), is stated to have been his son, and to have given the church of Morton to the monastery of Kelso, &c. Now, although possible, is it probable that quite a youth, when he was killed, he should have left sons, for more than one is mentioned? We think the following will show how the question stands: Dunegal is

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said to have had four sons, and we find Randolph, Dovenald or Donald, Duncan, and Gillespie. Whether Dovenald was the second or youngest son is not clear. If the latter, Duncan and Gillespie must have died young. Randolph, as the eldest son, inherited the principal portion of his father's lands. Dovenald received from his father the lands of Sanquhar, &c. In one account Randolph has only one son, named Thomas, who died in 1262, and in another he had Duncan, Gillespie, Dovenald. If the latter were his sons, he must have had four, for Thomas was certainly the eldest, and his heir. It seems probable that Duncan, Gillespie, and Dovenald were not his sons, but his brothers. Thomas succeeded his father, and married Isabella Bruce, the eldest daughter of Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, and had issue, Thomas, Randolph, and Isabella, who married Sir William Moray. His son was created Earl of Moray by his uncle, King Robert the Bruce, brother to his mother.

We will now refer to Dovenald, the son of Dunegal. His children are not all named, but one of his sons was called Edgar. It was this Edgar who flourished in the reigns of William I. and Alexander II., and his children adopted Edgar as their surname. His son was Richard Edgar, who owned the castle and half of the barony of Sanquhar. Dovenald or Donald Edgar obtained from David II. the captaincy of the clan MacGowan. To return to Radulph or Randolph, the eldest son of Dunegal, it is affirmed that he married the heiress of Bethoc, who brought him Bethoc-rule (Bedrule), Buechester, and other lands in Teviotdale. A confirmation

charter of King William the Lion to the Abbey of Jedburgh gives and confirms "the gift of Ralf, son of Dunegal, and of Bethoc his wife, one ploughgate of land in Rughecestre, and the common pasture of that toun," to the abbey. In this confirmation we have his wife's name given as Bethoc, from which Bethoc-rule, and from it again to Bedrule in Teviotdale. There seems to be a doubt whether Rughecestre was not in Northumberland, at the ancient station called Bremenium, five miles south of Otterburn, which is not far from the Scottish border, but yet in England. Pont, in his map, spells Bedrule as Baddroull, but what he means thereby we do not inquire into. He is not always correct—in fact, often wrong. There are several Chesters in Teviotdale as well as in the northern parts of Northumberland, which may have caused some confusion in tracing. In Teviotdale there were three places respectively called Bonnechesterr and Bunchestersyid. We may add that near to and south of Greenlaw, Berwickshire, there is a small property called Rowchester. *Chester* means a castle, having the same sense as *caer*, from the Gaelic, *cathair*. To continue the statement, Randolph inherited the largest share of Strathnith from his father, and lived until the reign of William the Lion. His name is often met with at the period of which we write. We find it borne by the Meschines, Earls of Cumberland, of whom special mention is made in King David's charter to Robert Brus, which we have already given. The first was a Norman, who is said to have come over at the Conquest, and when England was subdued, Cumberland was

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given to Ralph de Meschines or de Mecinis, whose eldest son, Ranulph, became governor or lord over the district. Ralph, Ranulph, Radulph, or Randolph, is from the Norse, and became a favourite Anglo-Norman name. Ralph de Meschines or Mis-cins, had two brothers, Galfridus, who had a grant of the county of Chester, and William, on whom was bestowed the land of Coupland. The latter was also granted Gillesland, but he was not able to get it from the Scots, for Gill, the son of Bueth, held the greater part by force of arms. After his death, King Henry II. bestowed this land upon Hubert de Vallibus or Vaulx, who had murdered Gillesbueth to obtain it. In repentance he founded and endowed the Priory of Lanercost, and gave to it the lands that had caused the quarrel. Whom Ralph de Meschines had married is not mentioned. He is stated to have held the lands in right of his mother. The family has long been extinct in the male line, but the Earls of Chester are said to have been descended from them. To return to Dunegal, it is probable that his eldest son was named after Ranulph de Meschines. It is to be remembered that at this time Cumberland was held of the Kings of England as a part of Scotland; and from the frequency with which we find the sons of Dunegal as witnesses to grants made by David I. to religious houses, there is every reason to believe that they were of Norse origin, and were besides closely connected with the Norman families who had settled around. Sir Thomas Randolph is stated to have been called Lord of Strathnith prior to his elevation to the earldom of Moray, but which

seems to rest on assumption, and is not clear, as the lands were then possessed by others.

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We have to proceed with the line known as the Lords of Galloway—the first being Fergus, in regard to whom the most erroneous statements have been circulated. It has been supposed that he succeeded lineally to his position, and that his predecessors introduced their own laws and customs, which by the law of tanistry provided that the best qualified male in the family of the chief, whether a son or a brother, was to be fixed on as the successor; and that they appointed their own rulers, who took the title of kings, princes, or lords of Galloway. More erroneous statements have seldom been made, so far as Fergus and his descendants are concerned. We have shown that Galloway formed a portion of the Strathclyde kingdom to the tenth century; following this, that it was under Norse rule; and in the twelfth century that it became a portion of the united kingdom of Scotland. The usual history of Fergus is that he succeeded Ulgric and Duvenald after they were slain at the Battle of the Standard in 1138. This in one sense is correct, but not as has been conveyed. The only correct statement which we have found is 'Galloway Typographized' by Pont (collections by Sir James Balfour and Sir Robert Sibbald), in which it is stated that "Fergus, ye first Earle of Galloway, Reg. Da.: 1 dotit to ye Monastary of ye Holycross neir Edinburghe, Baroniam de Dunrode. He gave for armes a lyone Ramp. Arg. Cround or, in a shield azure." Beyond the statement that Fergus was forty-two years of

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age in 1138, nothing is known to indicate who he was. He was a courtier of David I., his name appearing in several charters granted by that monarch. He seems to have enjoyed considerable eminence, having for his wife Elizabeth, natural daughter of Henry I. of England. The first notice we have of an earl or magnate in Galloway is Earl Malcolm, near Whithorn, as mentioned in the 'Saga of Burnt Njal.' Before the fall of Sigurd II. of Orkney at the battle of Clontarf near Dublin, in 1014, an Earl Gille, who had married a sister of Sigurd, acted as his lieutenant in the Sudreys and the mainland as far as his possessions extended. He is said to have resided at Koln—either the island of Coll or that of Colonsay. We have already mentioned him under our Norse account; but as a M'Gille is afterwards named, it may have been that he was a son of Thorfinn's guardian, and succeeded his father as deputy. It is as well to state that the prefix Mac or M' does not in every case prove being the son of a Celt where other evidence is wanting, for it has sometimes been taken by those of non-Celtic origin. If not one and the same person, we are inclined to believe that he was the son of the Earl Gille in Sigurd's time. M'Gill is represented to be the most powerful chief in Galloway during Macbeth's reign, which was during Thorfinn's rule. It is incompatible with the Sagas and the history of the district that any powerful chief existed in Galloway *at that date* who was not subordinate to Earl Thorfinn; and as M'Gill left no or little trace of landed possessions behind him, the opinion held is strongly corrob-

rated that he could only have been Earl Thorfinn's deputy. The name became one of the Galloway surnames, and is still common in the district. Our object in introducing the subject is from a hazy idea that it is just possible Fergus, first Lord of Galloway, of whose ancestry nothing is known, may have been a descendant of Earl Gille or his supposed son, for the Norse element must have been strong in Galloway for a time. It is worthy of notice that in 1153, after the death of King David, the Northmen attempted to recover their supremacy in Galloway, but were defeated by the inhabitants, then largely composed of Irish-Scots. According to tradition, the last battle was fought on Glenquicken Moor, parish of Kirkmabreck.

We have shown that Fergus having been the descendant or next of kin of Dovenald, son of Dunegal, is an error. That he was a native of rank in Galloway, and succeeded by lineal descent to the position which he held, is not supported by a single fact of any kind, and is opposed to a truthful history of the district. Neither could he have held supreme power over Galloway as a prince, but only as a governor, in the same way as Cumberland—then a portion of Scotland—was held by the Meschines family, or until deposed by the Norsemen, as the Mormaers had held the northern provinces of Scotland, a list of which we have already given. The Mormaers' position, however, is scarcely analogous, for they had great power with weak kings. Fergus was under David I., who was a powerful king. David was surrounded by Normans and other foreigners, and there is every reason to

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believe that Fergus was appointed to be governor after the disastrous Battle of the Standard, fought on Catton Moor, near Northallerton, North Yorkshire, in 1138, in which the Galwegians served under the king, with other levies from all parts of Scotland and Cumberland. The united army is called 26,000 men. It is mentioned that the Galwegians claimed as a right to lead the van as the principal fighting men; but their right to this honour has never been satisfactorily explained. Their conduct at the battle was not altogether to their credit, although, at first, brave in the extreme. They suffered greatly from the English archers, and had most of their fighting men slain, when they got broken and retreated. Weakened and dispirited, no more favourable opportunity could have offered for the king to place a stranger over them, to check their turbulent disposition and wild habits. During the seventeen years that he was Prince of Cumbria, David received the support of all the Normans on the English border, and is said by all contemporary authorities to have been "*terrible only to the men of Galloway.*" As king, after the battle he had them fully in his power, and exercised it by placing a governor over them. Fergus, on appointment, at once commenced, as no native would then have done, to build churches, &c., in connection with the English Church, *alias* Church of Rome, in opposition to the native Celtic Irish-Scottish Church of Iona. He was evidently of the Norman or Norse race, and one of King David's own school. The "Sanct King," as he is called, or, as elsewhere, "that

Prince of Monk-feeders, and Prime Scottish Saint of the Romish calendar, which procured him canonisation from the Pope," was surrounded, as already stated, by Normans, &c., preferring them to his Scottish subjects. There can be no doubt on the mind of any close reader and searcher of history that Fergus was appointed governor about A.D. 1139, after peace was concluded between Kings David of Scotland and Stephen of England.

It is necessary to repeat here that Fergus married Elizabeth, the natural daughter of King Henry I. of England. This king ruled from 1100 to 1135. Unless Fergus had been in England he could not have become acquainted with her and married before he became governor of Galloway, otherwise his descendants—three generations—would have had very short lives. Also, had he been a native, from the position apparently held from the first, he would have led the Galwegians at the Battle of the Standard, instead of Ulgric and Dovenald. That Fergus was married long before his connection with Galloway is supported by the facts that Olave, King of Man, began to reign in 1102, and that he married Affrica, the daughter of Fergus, but previously had three sons and several daughters by his concubines, one of the latter becoming the wife of Somerled, the ruler of Argyll. It is well known that King David was brought up with English ideas, from his residence at the English Court, and his many English connections. When Prince of Cumbria he founded in Cumberland the celebrated monastery of Holm Cultran, and his great desire was to supplant by the Eng-

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lish - Roman the Celtic Irish - Scottish Church, founded by St Columba at Iona. This latter Church would not acknowledge the Pope, although about the same in doctrine as the Church of Rome. David succeeded in his desire with the aid of the Anglo-Normans, &c., who as a reward got grants of land throughout Scotland, and built abbeys, &c., to please him, and also to have the support of the Church in their grasping policy. His mother, Queen Margaret, had previously introduced the English or Popish Church into the eastern parts of Scotland. King David also brought into Scotland the Order of the religious knights called "Knights Templars." The Order was instituted in 1118. From Baldwin II., King of Jerusalem, they got a grant near the Temple, and from this obtained their designation. Their vow was to defend Jerusalem, and protect strangers in the Holy Land. They became well known in Scotland, and although rather contradictory, they followed the example of the Church in accumulating wealth. In Galloway they had possessions in several of the parishes. Their dress was a white habit, with a red cross on their cloaks.

Fergus appears to have been attached to the retinue of King David when Prince of Cumbria, and resident in England. This is not supposition, for it is confirmed by the account of the founding by Fergus of St Mary's Priory at the isle of Trahil, or Trayl, Kirkcudbright, in token of his reconciliation with King David, whom he had sorely displeased, arising, it is believed, from complicity in the rebellion of Angus, Earl of Moray, in 1130,

when David was absent in England. We gave an account of this in 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway,' p. 176, vol. iv. The interpretation of the story is the defeat at Strathcaro by Edward, Constable of Scotland (a new office introduced by King David), and that all the after donations of Fergus to the Church were the price of his escape from punishment. Alwin, who was the first Abbot of Holyrood, and confessor to the king, dressed Fergus as a monk, who through this fraud obtained "the kiss of peace" from the king, saying, "Peace be to thee, brother, with the divine benediction." The religious feeling of the king made him pardon the deceit, and Fergus was reinstated in favour. This was at Holyrood during the building of the Abbey, which was commenced in 1128. Alwin, the abbot, &c., resigned in 1150, and died in 1155. That St Mary's, at Kirkcudbright, was founded subsequent to 1138 is certain, and from the special mention made concerning it in the Chronicles of 'Sanctæ Crucis Edinburgensis' (Holyrood), in connection with "the kiss of peace," it is equally certain that it was the first religious house erected by Fergus after his elevation to the governorship of Galloway; and from making it a cell of Holyrood, and the grants of land close to the priory bestowed by him on that monastery, it is equally clear that the whole was done in gratitude for the benefits he had received through the friendship of the abbot.

The bounty of Fergus to the Church was great, not only as an adherent to David in support of his religious fervour, but also in gratitude for the re-

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conciliation effected. After his settlement in Galloway, he built abbeys, &c., and chapels in different parts, richly endowing them with lands. The abbeys, &c., were four in number—viz., at St Mary's Isle, Tunland, Whithern, and Saulseat. An additional proof that he was a stranger, and of Norman or Norse blood, is the fact that he and his descendants brought monks from England and abroad to occupy the religious houses built. Of the published Monkish Chartularies, Holyrood is shown to have had more lands in Galloway (the Stewartry) than any other known, and Dryburgh Abbey stood next. The name Fergus which he bore was borne by Norsemen. As an example, it is stated in history that after the Scots were defeated by the Romans and Picts (Northern) united, some of the former passed over to Denmark, and married there. Also, Erthus or Erc (son of Ethodsius, who was wounded, and specially mentioned as having gone there) married in that country, and had a son named Fergus. The name, therefore, is no clue to nationality. During the tenure of Fergus in the reign of David, nothing special occurred worthy of mention; but after the death of the king (24th May 1153), and while his son and successor, Malcolm, was a minor, Fergus in 1160, with much ingratitude, threw off his allegiance, joining Somerled the ruler of Argyll, who had been in open rebellion, and was slain at Renfrew in 1164. Fergus and Somerled ravaged the west coast. It is stated that they counted on the aid of the North or Norse men to place William of Egremont, the great-grandson of Malcolm Caenmore, on the

throne. In regard to Somerled, as it is a disputed point, we will not press it here, beyond stating that if he was not of Norse lineage on both sides (*i.e.*, father and mother) he was certainly closely connected with them. This union with Fergus and Somerled is, in our opinion; another link in the evidence that Fergus was of Norse origin. They were defeated, and Fergus either resigned or, as more probable, had taken from him the same year (1160) the governorship of Galloway. He took refuge in Holyrood Abbey as a canon regular, and died in 1161. It would thus appear that to Holyrood, through the powerful influence of his friend Alwin, the abbot, he obtained his elevation in 1138 or 1139, and at the close of his career obtained refuge there, and thus ended his days. We have farther to observe that the appellation of Prince has arisen entirely from the monks of Holyrood, who had reason to look up to him, as his grants to the Abbey were princely. The Chronicles were fragmentary, and were compiled by the monks, who, besides the grants bestowed, no doubt also considered his marriage with the natural daughter of King Henry as a plea for giving a title which he certainly was not entitled to. The Chronicles preserved appear in the 'Anglia Sacra,' by Wharton, an English divine born in 1664, and which was published in 1691. From it the following has partly been given in 'Mackenzie's History of Galloway,' which we now give in full: "Anno MCLX. Rex Malcolmus duxit exercitum in Galwaiam ter. et ibidem inimicis suis devictis, fæderatus est cum pace; et sine dâmmo suo remeavit,

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Fergus Princeps Galwaiæ habitum Canonici in ecclesia S. Crucis de Ednesburgh suscepit, et eis villam quæ dicitur Dunroden dedit." The title of Prince is not to be found in any charter, where it assuredly would have been inserted. It was merely given by the monks, already explained, as a matter of courtesy, in the same way as Dominus, without title thereto, is sometimes found in old records bestowed on owners of land and on ecclesiastics. There is also no proof that the Chronicle referred to is contemporary, but from the introduction given by Wharton is rather to be viewed as made up at various periods afterwards.

Ailred of Rieval, Yorkshire, who was also Abbot of Revestry, Lincolnshire, born in 1109, and who died in 1166, wrote a genealogy of the English kings. He notices Galloway, and states that it had princes of its own within the memory of men still living. This is an echo from the monks of Holyrood, if the Chronicles were then written. If not, it must have been obtained from some monk in that quarter. He is the only writer who states so, and located in England, he personally could have known nothing of Galloway. He cannot be acknowledged as an authority on the subject. The rulers of Galloway previous to David's time were Norsemen, and they had been dislodged when Ailred was an infant. Besides, none of them were called princes, and were unknown from the downfall of the Strathclyde kingdom in 1018, until David became Prince of Cumbria.

Fergus left two sons, Uchtred and Gilbert, and his daughter Affrica, who was married (as we have

already mentioned) to Olave, the Norse King of Man and the Hebrides. By this marriage there is another Norse connection. It would appear from Benedict Abbas that Uchtred and Gilbert were by different mothers. The first is called "consanguineus" to King Henry II., which Gilbert is not. It may, however, have arisen from accidental omission. That Galloway from the Norse occupation, which ended in the eleventh century, belonged to and was ruled by the Kings of Scotland, has been already shown; and it is evident that the succession of Uchtred to the governorship or lordship of the district must have arisen from the power of the Church, coupled with services. His father (Fergus) granted, in addition to St Mary's Isle, both Dunroden and Galtweid (Galtway) to the abbot and monks of Holyrood Abbey, and Uchtred followed by giving to the same religious house the churches of St Cuthbert of Denesmor (Kirkcudbright); St Bridget of Blackhet, Urr; Tungland; Twenhame (Twynholm); Keletun *alias* Lochletun; Kirkcormac; with the chapel of Balnecross. The four last-mentioned had belonged to the monks of Iona; and here we have an example of expulsion to favour the English Church recognising the Pope, which King David determined to introduce and support. As already stated, he was enabled to do this through the Normans, &c., he had brought with him, amongst whom may be classed Fergus, made governor, or the first Lord of Galloway. We are strongly inclined to think, from what we have observed throughout our researches, that the

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churches and lands bestowed by Uchtred may be looked on as purchase-money. He is called pious, which his position necessitated, even if he had not felt the power of religion, and this cannot be questioned. He also founded the St Benedict Convent of Cluden, where he is said to have been buried. This establishment was made rich with lands, by the bestowal of the baronies of Cross-michael, and Drumsleet, parish of Troqueer. In addition he secured the interest of the powerful monastery of Holm-Cultran in Cumberland, erected by David I., by granting to it the large tract of land known as the Grange of Kirkwinning, the charters bestowing which will be found under the parish of Kirkgunzeon, in 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway.' Uchtred also gave Colmonell in Carrick to Holyrood Abbey. The witnesses were: "MacMares; Gillecatfar; Gillechrist; Gilliewinan; Mactheuel; David fil Erluin." It may be that Mactheuel is for MacDouall, and if so, is interesting from being the first mention of the name found in Galloway. It appears to us that the succession of Uchtred was upheld by these grants. Both he and his brother Gilbert kept in the king's favour, and followed him to England when invading that country. By a ruse the king was captured by Bernard Balliol, with a detachment of cavalry at Alnwick. The people in Galloway having become troublesome, with much fighting and slaughter among themselves, it is mentioned by Fordun that the two brothers returned from England to the district to quell the disturbance, the king's officers having been expelled. Fordun

calls them Thanes, but such a title was unknown in the district. Their absence seems to have been taken advantage of, and the revolt to have arisen from the dissatisfaction of the natives with the rulers, past and present, who had been thrust on them by King David, and next by King William, the Church, all-powerful, supporting them.

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We have already stated that King David I. introduced the Church of Rome into Galloway, &c., and that the Anglian Church was in connection with Rome from the first, is supported by all that can be found. The oldest church in England (St Martin's at Canterbury), having Roman bricks in its walls, is supposed to have been erected by Christian Roman soldiers; and equally so it is to be believed that the first missionaries bringing the Gospel were from Rome, and in connection with the Church there. As Pearson, in his 'England during the Early and Middle Ages,' states, "The Anglo-Saxon Church was missionary in its beginnings, monastic in its organisation, and aristocratic by its connection with the king and chief nobles. The traces of its foreign origin were preserved in its filial connection with Rome. . . . In general, bishops and abbots were drawn from the highest families in the kingdom. This connection with the nobility associated the Church in England beyond any other country with the duties of civil government. By the practice which gradually prevailed, the Church might be said to exist separate from the State, but the State was interpenetrated by the Church." This was the Church introduced into Scotland with such mischievous results, by Queen

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Margaret, and her son King David I. Again to quote from Pearson, "The learning belonged rather to the canons or monks, who commonly sided with the bishop, than to the mass-priests of the country villages. The ordinary Anglo-Saxon priest was no very dignified personage. He was commonly in later times of the semi-servile class." It is mentioned that Uchtred's wife was Gwynolda, daughter of Waldef, son of Gospatrick, erroneously styled Earl of Dunbar (the history will be found under Mochrum in 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway'). We learn also that Alan, son and heir of Waldef or Waldevus, granted as a dowry with his sister the lands of Torpenhow. Uchtred perhaps resided at Loch Fergus near Kirkcudbright, in the castle erected by his father, and from whom it and the loch were named. It is only a mile or two from the site of St Mary's Priory. The loch is now drained, and not a vestige of the castle left, which until of late years was "use and wont" by the new race of owners in Galloway, as well as in other parts of Scotland. The descendants of the perpetrators of such vandalism are generally now to be found as members of Archæological, &c., Societies; but, even if possessing any real taste for such pursuits, too late now for the preservation of many interesting ruins of great value in history. Another opinion is entertained, that the castle at Kirkcudbright was then built, and Uchtred resided in it. It may have been so, for it is believed to have been erected by one of the Lords of Galloway.

The cruel murder of Uchtred in a most revolting way by his brother Gilbert on the 22d September

1174, after their return from England, was perpetrated in one or other of the castles we have mentioned. They had quarrelled about the right of succession. Gilbert then assumed the lordship of the district. He applied to Henry II. of England (not to the representative of the King of Scotland) for protection, and promised a yearly tribute, which King Henry declined. He subsequently, however, in 1176 made his peace with Henry at Fackenharn in Worcestershire, by paying one thousand merks of silver, and giving his son Duncan, afterwards Earl of Carrick, as a hostage. We have in these transactions evidence that the Fergus line were not natives. The course pursued was identical with the actions of the foreigners (Anglo-Norman, &c.), introduced into Scotland by David I., and which ultimately brought such trouble on Scotland. In the 'Chronica de Mailros,' we learn that, on the 4th July 1175, a battle in "Galwela" was fought between Roland and Gillepatrick, in which many were slain, most of whom were on the side of the latter. Roland was Uchtred's son. He had another battle with Gillecolum (from Gille Calum, the servant of St Columba, whence Malcolm), in which the latter was slain, with many of his followers, and Roland lost a brother—name not given. Gillecolum was probably the same person as Gillecolane, a son of Somerled's by a previous marriage. If so, he no doubt contended for the lordship of Galloway. In this there is another link to our statement that Fergus, Lord of Galloway, and Somerled were connected. They carried the same armorial bearings—viz., a lion rampant,

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which, as we have already described elsewhere, was of Scandinavian origin.

William the Lion, on his liberation after the treaty of Falaise, returned to Scotland, and soon afterwards led an army into Galloway to punish Gilbert, who humbly waited on the king to purchase an indemnity for his brother's murder, which, through the intercession of the Church, was granted. Thus, instead of execution, as he merited, the murder was compromised by a fine, and Gilbert was allowed to retain the governorship or lordship of the district until his death in 1185. Had he been of the old Celtic stock he would have been treated in a very different manner. Whom Gilbert married is not to be traced, but he is stated to have left a son named Duncan, who assumed the governorship, and, as mentioned, King Henry II. assembled an army at Carlisle to support him, but was too late, and prudently gave way to circumstances. Roland, son of Uchtred, with the sanction of King William, recovered the district, and Duncan was granted Carrick in lieu. Not satisfied with the support of his own king, Roland also swore allegiance to King Henry II. of England in 1186, and from that date Galloway was considered by the Kings of England as a portion of their territory, and as under their rule. In 'Leland's Collectanea,' translated by Ritson, it is given,—“Also in the month of August 1185, at Carleul, Rouland Falvaten, Lord of Galloway, did homage and fealtie to King Henry, with all that held of him.” We have in this another example of the degradation and trouble brought on Scotland

by the supposed wisdom of David I. and others in encouraging foreigners to settle, to enrich them with lands and exalted positions, to be used against their adopted country by themselves and their descendants, for they never lost what they possessed from the first,—a strong leaning for English institutions and rule. Roland is said to have slain many of the influential chiefs, distributing their lands among his followers. He married Elena, daughter of Richard de Morville, Constable of Scotland, and had issue, two sons, of whom hereafter. The first of the De Morville family is said to have been one of the adventurers, already described, who accompanied William the Conqueror to England in A.D. 1066, and were so well rewarded at the cost of the unhappy natives. This, however, we do not find to be corroborated by the Dive, &c., lists (see Supplement). The name is also found as Moruile, and to be from the Castle of Morville in the Côtentin, Normandy. His son was named Hughe de Morvil, and he obtained the governorship of Westmoreland about the same time that Ranulph, son of Ralph de Meschines, was placed in a similar position in Cumberland. Camden mentions that there was a place called Hugh Seat Morvill, or Hugh Morvil's Hill, in Westmoreland. According to Chalmers, he was the earliest of the colonists in Scotland—that is, of the foreigners who rose to distinction. The first Hugh de Morville is designated as from Burg, Cumberland. King David's colonists are said to have been a thousand Anglo-Normans, whose origin as such is questionable in many instances. There were many others, not

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a few of whom were Flemings. It is unnecessary to repeat here the lavish grants of lands bestowed on them, and which were all accompanied by charters, for no Norman or Fleming overlooked that. The Celtic owners were firmly opposed to charters, or sheepskin-holding, as they termed it. It was an innovation introduced about the end of the eleventh century to give a holding to the foreigners, and largely followed out by King David I., who was the first to any extent who granted them, and thereby made numerous transfers to his foreign supporters. It was a dishonest proceeding. The names and other particulars of the previous owners do not appear in the charters granted,—of course, purposely omitted. However, in numerous instances they could not get possession, the Celtic proprietors defying them, and continuing to hold their own. The holders of these deeds nevertheless kept the sheepskin, and thus retained the superiority, which their descendants, generations afterwards, sometimes got the benefit of. The Church was prominent in these unprincipled transactions. Thus were the ancient families of the land robbed of their possessions for foreign adventurers, supported by the Church, which they largely endowed.

Hugo de Morville was one of the witnesses to the charter of Annandale (already given) granted by King David to Robert Brus, and under the auspices of David he had obtained a strong footing, with extensive possessions in Scotland. He founded Dryburgh Abbey about A.D. 1150, and granted to it the church of Borg, parish of Borgue, while his wife

Beatrice gave the land of Bogrie, parish of Lochrutton. He thus had lands in Galloway. His son Richard obtained the lordship or governorship of the district of Cunningham, Ayrshire, with a large extent of land; yet, as a proof of the way in which the past is forgotten, the name of his place of residence is unknown, although it has been surmised that Glengarnock Castle, parish of Kilbirnie, or Southannan in Largs, now in Kilbride, may have been the place. To him the Abbey of Kilwinning owed its rise, and was very richly endowed by him and his family. He also became Constable of Scotland, and possessed, with other large estates, that of Heriot (now owned in part by the Earl of Stair) in the county of Edinburgh. He had a son named William, who succeeded. At his death without lawful issue, Roland, Lord of Galloway, succeeded to all on behalf of his wife, heiress to her brother. Through this marriage the position and importance of Roland was greatly increased, bringing to him lands in Ayrshire and in many other parts of Scotland, together with the Constableness of the realm, which, as we have already mentioned, was a new office introduced by King David I., and borrowed from England.

In 1190 Roland founded Glenluce Abbey. On the 19th December 1200, he died at Northampton in England, and was interred there in St Andrew's Church. This is other evidence of the close connection kept up with England. He left two sons, Alan and Thomas. The first succeeded as Lord of Galloway. His brother, Thomas, married Isabel, second granddaughter of Henry, Earl of Athole, by his eld-

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est son, who predeceased him. In her right Thomas ultimately succeeded as sixth Earl of Athole. He is called "Thomas de Gallovidia." He died in 1231, and was succeeded by his son Patrick, as seventh earl. He was murdered, by being burned to death in his lodgings at Haddington in 1142, leaving no issue. In the 'Annals of the Four Masters,' we find Thomas mentioned as Thomas MacUchtry (that is, Thomas, son of Uchtred, which is an error), who, with the sons of Randal M'Sorley, came to Derry with a fleet of seventy-six ships, and plundered and destroyed the town. They passed thence to Innishowen, and ravaged the entire island. The date of this was 1211. M'Sorley or Somhairle, *alias* Somerled, were one and the same. As we have already stated, his origin and descent are open to question. It is asserted by most writers that he was of Celtic lineage in the male line, his mother only being of Norse blood. The name of Gillebride as that of his father, and Gilledomnan as that of his grandfather, are given as proof of their Celtic lineage; but the Norsemen were so mixed up with the Celtic inhabitants in the west and north-west of Scotland, that national names became common to both, and therefore fail to convey positive proof, particularly with so many Norse connections as Somerled had. His alliances and actions also convey the belief that he was more of a Norseman than a Goidel. Gilledomnan is the Gaelic, as stated, for the servant of Eunan; and Gillebrede or bride, the servant of St Bridget, but the prefix *gilli* is also to be found in the Norse. The names of his father and grandfather were given in MacVurich's 'Book of Clanranald,'

now lost. Reference is said to have been also made in it to a conference held by Gillebride with the MacMahons and MacGuires in Fermanagh, and obtaining help from them to regain his inheritance in Scotland. He returned there with his son Somerled and a band of followers, eventually defeating the Norwegians, and driving them out. Even this is no proof, for the Norsemen, as settlers, were known to fight amongst themselves for lands in Britain and Ireland, which we have already referred to. Anyhow, the event mentioned was in the thirteenth century, after Ireland had been conquered and annexed to England in 1172; but as Gregory, in his 'Highlanders,' admits, the followers were probably Oestmen (men from the east)—that is, Norsemen settled in Ireland, who were so named there, as we have previously mentioned. The Norsemen, at the period we are now dealing with, were making great efforts to recover and retain what they had owned for some time in Scotland. Anyhow, if not quite clear as to Somerled's male lineage, it is admitted that his mother was of Norse descent, and he followed in this by marrying an illegitimate daughter of Olave, the Norwegian ruler of the Isles, &c., and had by her four sons, Dubhgal, Reginald, Angus, and Olave. With the exception, perhaps, of Angus, the other names are Sandinavian. MacVurich is said to have written that Somerled was the most distinguished of the Galls—*i.e.*, Norwegians—and of the Gaels for prosperity, sway, generosity, and feats of arms. However, whatever may be the opinions of others, we cannot get rid of the belief that Somerled was a Norseman. In

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'Celtic Scotland' we are told that the *gal* in Dubhgal means valour, and is not to be confounded with *gall*, a stranger; but in MacDonald's 'Celtic Magazine,' Nov. 1879, the word is spelled in this matter as *gall*, and not *gal*. Dubhgal and others of Somerled's family served under King Hakon (Haco) prior to and at the battle of Largs in A.D. 1263. The first is easily understood as the dark stranger, the *dubh* being for black or swarthy. The suffix, as valour, &c., coupled with other meanings, is in a different position. Anyhow, he was the ancestor of the M'Dougalls of Lorn. That some connection also existed with Fergus, Lord of Galloway, is believed, although it cannot be proved. It is worthy of again being noticed that the armorial bearings of Somerled and his descendants, the M'Dougalls of Lorn and the M'Doualls (a corruption of M'Dougall) in Galloway, consisted originally of "a lion rampant," which Fergus, Lord of Galloway, and his descendants also bore. As we have already mentioned elsewhere (under the Norsemen), the "lion rampant" was specially Scandinavian.

An idea has existed that Fergus and his descendants bore M'Douall as a surname, which is altogether erroneous. The fact of Uchtred, son of Fergus, being styled MacUchtry, proves it; and we may add that, although MacDouall or MacDougall was then known, it was never borne by Fergus and his descendants, which we will again refer to. In the 'Annals of the Four Masters,' the MacDoualls are included in the clan Sorley (or Somerled, the Norse for Samuel) with the MacDonnells and MacDougalls. In addition to this, the MacSweenys

were the leaders of the Scots Gallowglasses or stipendiary (mercenary) soldiers, who were chiefly MacSweenys, MacDonnells, MacDougalls, Campbells, MacSheeys, &c. We may remark that there is some difficulty in following the name of Campbell. It is related that the chief family represent O'Duibne in the male line, and that the present surname was assumed from one of them having possessed a crooked mouth. However, Mac or O' Duibne is mentioned when surnames were in use; and the family being possessed of land, and not wandering adventurers, to have had their old surname dropped for another of questionable attraction or advantage, is rather difficult to understand. We are inclined to believe that some Norseman married the daughter and heiress of the last Mac or O' Duibne in the male line, and that with this marriage the name of her husband was taken by her and her descendants. The Campbells are said to have been known in Gaelic as the clan O'Duibne. This may be so; but in Scotland it is found that the O', also Ui for grandson or descendant, gave place to the Mac or M', which was also the usual prefix in Ireland until about the eleventh century. Duncan MacDuibne is stated to be mentioned in one of the Argyll charters as possessing Lochow and Ardskeodnich, contemporary with Alexander II., who reigned from A.D. 1214 to 1249; and as Argyll was under his rule in 1222, when surnames were in use, and the feudal system in full vigour, makes it the more incomprehensible why the family patronymic should have been dropped, unless the line ended with an heiress,

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and that her husband's name was adopted by their issue. This was the usual course, and foreign names thus spread over Scotland. The first of the Campbells on record was Gillespie Cambell, who is mentioned in 1263. The foregoing digression was in a measure necessary, and we will now return to the main subject. We find in a charter: "Conf Macò eccà galweth. Johes Dei grà Candide Case Eps omnibz Scè nats Eccleie filijs t fidelibz Salutem." One of the witnesses signs, "Dno Alano filio Rolādi, Constabulario Dni Règ Scotto," &c.—the translation of which is, "The confirmation to the Church in Galloway. John, by the grace of God Bishop of Candida Casa, to all the sons of the Church of St Michael, and to the faithful, greeting." One of the witnesses signs, or as more probable had his name written for him, "Alan, Lord, son of Roland, Lord Constable (to) King of Scots." There is nothing of prince in this. By following it out in this way, it should be made clear to every one that the Fergus line were only lords or governors over Galloway.

Alan as a subject began early to assist England. In 1211 he gave both men and arms to King John in his invasion of Ireland, and as a reward was granted the island of Rughie and lands in Antrim. As an English baron he was one of those who aided in obtaining the Magna Charta for England. When King John afterwards turned on those who caused him reluctantly to sign the Charter, and wished to punish them, Alan then went to his own and proper sovereign, Alexander II. of Scotland, and asked his protection. After doing homage, he

was not only received into favour, but appointed High Constable in succession to his father, and also made Chancellor of Scotland. In the record of this he is designated Alan of Dumfries. How truly weak were our early Scottish kings in placing themselves at the mercy, in a great measure, of those foreigners, in most instances whose ancestors a generation or two previously, or they themselves, had been raised from obscurity to power! It is not to be denied that in Normandy, and as mercenaries in various parts of Europe, they had become well-trained and well-equipped soldiers; but it is also not to be forgotten that of those who followed William the Conqueror to England, the most of them were of the lower grade, or, as has been stated, "the scum of France," &c., and the high-sounding names borne by not a few families as their descendants were the districts and towns from which they had come, and bestowed on them as *sobriquets* by their comrades. The most of those of position, &c., in Normandy, &c., returned there after the conquest of England had been effected. Those of standing (not many) who remained, at once obtained large grants of lands, while the many others were squatted over England as a military police, until they were provided with lands, or provided for themselves by forced marriages with the daughters or widows of the native owners who had been slain, or had their lands taken from them. As a Supplement we will give the Dive, &c., lists of those who accompanied William the Conqueror to England. We mention this, as the success of the Normans and Flemings has obliterated the

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ways and means by which many obscure followers of William rose to position in England, and not a few of whom afterwards found their way to Scotland. The general belief that to be of Norman or Flemish descent is a sure mark of nobility of origin, is one of the many popular fallacies which exist as regards past history.

To return to our account of Alan, Lord of Galloway, and his return to his allegiance: from his connections in Scotland and England he became powerful. He was thrice married. The name of his first wife is not known. He had issue, an only daughter named Elena, who married Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winchester. The first of his family in England, as a follower of William the Conqueror, deprived Clito, a Saxon, of his inheritance, previously obtained by the latter's ancestors much in the same way from a native. A descendant, Saer Quincy, is mentioned as having been created Earl of Winchester by King John, and as he began to reign in 1199, it was over 133 years after their settlement in England. His son Roger succeeded, and married Elena, the daughter of Alan, as we have mentioned. Ultimately in her right he became Constable of Scotland. They had issue, Margaret, who married William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby. Also, Elizabeth, who married Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan, and Ela, who married Alan de la Zouche.

Alan married, secondly, Margaret, eldest daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon (in England), the third son of Henry, Prince of Scotland, eldest son of King David I., who predeceased his father. He

had issue, a son, whose name is unknown. He died early. Also two daughters: Christian, the eldest, married William de Fortibus, son of Earl Albemarle, and died without issue. Devorgille, who married in 1228, John Baliol of Bernard Castle, Yorkshire, and had issue. It is stated that she had four sons, but the only name handed down is that of John, called the fourth. He ultimately became the competitor for the crown. Also one daughter, Marjory, who married John of Badenoch, known as "Black Comyn," whose son, John, the "Red Comyn," was slain by Bruce at Dumfries.

Alan married thirdly a daughter of Hugh de Lacy, but had no children by her. Here we have an instance of the perishing of names; for not only are those of his first and third wives (excepting that she was a De Lacy) unknown, but also their place of burial. His last wife may have been drowned, if Fordun's statement is to be relied on. Anyhow Alan, the last of the Lords of Galloway, of the first line of rulers so styled, and Constable of Scotland, died in A.D. 1234. He was buried in Dundrennan Abbey. His possessions in Galloway were then shared by his daughters. He had, however, a bastard son named Thomas, who married the daughter of Olave, King of Man, &c. As stated in history, the Galwegians preferred him to having the husbands of Alan's daughters brought into the district; and their appeal to King Alexander II. having been refused, under the leadership of Gilroth, one of the Irish settlers, they revolted and ravaged the neighbouring districts. There is an idea that from such irruptions they obtained the

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designation of "The Wild Scots of Galloway." It may be so, as the settlers from Ireland were Irish-Scots. With some among them of high and ancient standing as the descendants of the Kings of Ulster, it proves, from the absence of concentrated action, that they were rather disunited; and the Rudraighe and Dalfiatach clans had brought with them and kept up the animosity which had generated in Antrim and Down in the eleventh century, and brought about the downfall of the ancient kingdom of Ulidia, *alias* Ulster. To put down in Galloway the insurrection, in 1235 the king led an army into Galloway; but getting entangled in the wilder parts in the district, he might have met with defeat had not the Earl of Ross gone to his assistance by sea and attacked the insurgents in the rear, when they were discomfited, and next day submitted to the king. The leaders—Thomas and Gilroth—escaped to Ireland, where they raised auxiliaries, and were so confident of succeeding, that on arrival they burned the craft that conveyed them across the Channel. They, however, had to sue for mercy, which the king granted through the mediation of the Bishop of Galloway and the Abbot of Montrose. The two leaders were confined for a time in Edinburgh Castle, but obtained their liberty. It is mentioned that their followers from Ireland passed northward to the Clyde in the hope of obtaining conveyance to Ireland, but that the people of Glasgow put them to the sword, excepting two chiefs who were captured and sent to Edinburgh, where they were executed. We are inclined to think that this event had more to do with the

Norse element than the Irish. Thomas, the natural son of Alan, had married the daughter of Olave, the Norse King of Man; and, as we have stated elsewhere, the Scandinavian population in Ireland had not been exterminated, but was strong in various parts. In addition, those who continued as Vikings or sea-rovers, with the countenance of their sovereigns, were always hanging on the coasts, with the hope that sooner or later their position in Scotland would be re-established. As known to many, so late as 1263, Haco of Norway made a descent on Scotland, and was signally defeated on the 2d October of that year at Largs, Ayrshire, when the elements favoured the defenders and scattered his fleet. This view will place the history on a footing to be understood, and account for the apparent apathy of the Irish-Scots in Galloway. The king's army, as stated, committed great ravages in the district, and plundered the abbeys of Glenluce and Tunland, killing two of the principals belonging to those establishments. All this may have arisen from mistaking the real insurgents.

To proceed with our subject: if the Lords of Galloway had been of the old Celtic stock, as has been heretofore assumed, the law of tanistry would have extended to them, as with the native chiefs; and as Thomas, the brother of Alan, who in right of his wife became Earl of Athole, had a son named Patrick, who was alive when his uncle Alan died, he would have been selected to succeed in the usual way, for by the Brehon laws no female could inherit landed property or be in authority.

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- Fergus, Uchtred, Roland, and Alan, through the peculiar way in which the first had been installed, and the claims of England which they recognised, and in return obtained for them recognition in that country as the governors or lords of Galloway, aided greatly in giving them power in Scotland in a treasonable way, which was tolerated, from the kings at that period being very weak. Fergus and
- his descendants held the governorship or lordship of the district from 1139 to 1234, and were evidently a foreign element. Not only so, but they were the ruin of the district from the introduction of so many other foreigners, which in the end turned it into a debatable land, with constant strife for lands and power. The Celtic natives, although fierce and warlike, were no match for the wiles of those strangers, backed up by the Church of Rome, and charters clandestinely obtained under the feudal law instituted to support them. The Celtic proprietors were unacquainted with the power of charters, which they despised as sheepskin—very unfortunately for many, as the result in the long-run proved. It is remarkable that the whole term of the Fergus line of four generations only extended to the short space of ninety-five years at the outside reckoning. The single lives of many Galwegians have been as long. It is also to be observed that, with the exception of Fergus, his descendants had Saxon and Norman names. Uchtred and Gilbert are Anglo-Saxon, and Roland and Alan Norman. Fergus being a Gaelic name is no proof that he was of that descent in purity; for, as we have mentioned already elsewhere, the

intercourse between the Norsemen and the inhabitants of Scotland was great for a lengthened period, and the application of names not restricted to nationality. His name was in use in Denmark. Of Alan's descendants and representatives, Roger de Quincy, as the husband of Elena, the eldest daughter, succeeded to the office of Constable of Scotland. It appears that, as with so many others, his father, Robert de Quincy, obtained a footing in Scotland in the time of Malcolm II. or William the Lion. We have already given a brief account of the first of his family, as a follower of William who conquered England, and of a descendant having been created Earl of Winchester by King John, who from the dates must have been Robert, the father of Roger. Apparently not satisfied with his position in England, or from other circumstances, he went to Scotland, and took up his quarters in Fifeshire. On his succession to his wife's lands, he went to Galloway, which created another rebellion in 1247. De Quincy died in 1264 and left three daughters, whose names, and those of their husbands, we have already given. The only one who continued to be mentioned in connection with Galloway was the wife of Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan, an account of whose family will be found under Buchan Forest, parish of Minnigaff, 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway,' vol. iv. Devorgille, Alan's second daughter by his second marriage, succeeded to her sister Christian's lands on her death without issue. When the competition for the Crown occurred in 1291, one-half of the lordship of Galloway belonged to John Baliol, son

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and heir of Devorgille, who died in 1289. The other half belonged jointly to William de Ferrers, Alan de la Zouche, and Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan, husbands of the three daughters of De Quincy by his wife Elena. Besides the lordship or superiority held by these parceners, they were in possession of a considerable portion of the land.

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We will now enter on another point already touched on, in connection with the history of the Lords of Galloway, the modern assumption being that they had a surname, and it was MacDouall. This we will further disprove by charters in which they appear as witnesses. The first is worthy of being given in full. There is no date, and although a surmise has been made that it was at the dedication of Glasgow Abbey, there is no doubt that it was subsequent to 1138. It is a gift from King David I. "Dauid. Rex. Scoc. Baronibz. Ministrif. et omibz fidelibz suis clicif t laicis totius regni sui salt sciatif me dedisse t concessisse des t ecclie sci Kentegni de Glasgu tram illam in Perdeyc i ppetuam etam panima mea t pris t mrif mee t frūm t sororum mēar t salute Heñr filii mi t omnium añcessor t successor meor, qm Ascelinus eiusd ecclie archidiaconus de me tenebat. in memore t plano. Aquis t piscinis. p'tis t pascuis. t in omibz aliis locis. p r'tap divisas Si Ailsi t Tocca eas tenebant die q° p teta tra suit in meo dominio. ita q archidiacō q faciat dot Sco Kentegerno de Glasgu q m m face solebat. Scilicet Annuati unam marcam argenti p omibz Sutiis asuetudinibz q° diu uixit. Post discessum u° archidiaconi

remaneat p'deā tra ecctie desuienda. ita liba t soluta t quieta sic melius t libius tenet suas alias tras t elemosinas . . . eisd libtatibz. Presentibz testibz: Herbto Abbe de rochesburc. Willo Cancell. Willo filio dunecan. Walif Com. Dunec. Com. Ferg^s de Galweia. Aad cum barba. Walduneni. Mac-Murdac. Walodenj de Scona. Walodeni Marescal. Rad filis dunegal. Duvenald frē eius. Vchtred fil fergus. Hug. britone. Herb. Camerareo. Gilebto finbogo. Gilebto de Striueli. Dufoter de Calatia. Ap Glasgu." The following is a translation of a portion: "David, King of Scotland, to the barons, ministers, and to all his faithful clergy and laity of his whole kingdom, greeting. Know ye that I have given and conceded to God, and to the Church of St Kentigern of Glasgow, that land in Pardyc (Partick?) in perpetual alms for my soul, and that of my father and mother, and my brothers and sisters, and for the salvation of my son Henry, and of all my ancestors and successors which Ascelnius, archdeacon of the same church, held from me, &c., &c. Witnesses present: Herbert, Abbot of Rocherburgh (Roxburgh?); William (Comyn) Chancellor (of Scotland); William, son of Duncan; Walis Com. (Malis or Malise, Comes de Strathearn); Duncan Com. (no doubt son of Duncan, half-brother of King David); Fergus of Galloway; Aad with the beard; Walumenus; Mac-Murdoch (son of the first Earl of Menteith—will be found under Mochrum, vol. ii. 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway'); Walodenus of Scone; Walodenus (Marshal of Scotland); Radulph, son of Dunegal (of Strathnith); Dovenald, his brother;

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Uchtred, son of Fergus; Hugo. Briton; Herbert, Chamberlain (of Scotland); Gilbert; Gilbert of Strivelus (Stirling?); Dufoter of Calatia. (Signed) at Glasgow." The charter is a good insight into the religious feelings of the king; but while he does not forget those who preceded, and those who were to follow him, his own self-preservation in the world he was travelling to seems to have been uppermost in his mind, and not quite in accordance with Christian precept and example. In another charter to the same abbey, with no date, but prior to 1153, the witnesses are: Willo Cumi (William Comyn) Chancellor, Hugo de Morevilla (Hugh de Morville); fgus de Galweia (Fergus of Galloway); Hug britone (Hugh Briton); Walto fil Alani (Walter, son of Alan, the progenitor of the Stewarts); Alwino MacArchil (Alwin, son of Archil); Rad filio dunegal (Radulph, son of Dunegal); Duvenald fre suo (Dovenald, his brother); Ap^d. Cadihou (at Cadzow, Lanarkshire). In three subsequent charters, in the same Chartulary, the same witnesses appear. In another signed at Jeddeworth (Jedburgh?); the three last names are Rad fil Dunegal (Radulph, son of Dunegal); Vhtr fil fg. (Uchtred, son of Fergus); Henr (Henry) lunel—dd. omet. Ap^d. Jeddeworth. In another charter of William, King of Scotland, 1187-89, amongst the witnesses is found Roll. filio Vcht'di. (Roland, son of Uchtred). The monastery of Ulme or Holme-Cultraine, founded by King David I., was at Morecambe Bay (in the British, crooked sea), Cumberland. The abbots built a fortress hard by at Vulstas to secure their

books and charters. We give this from Camden. To this monastery, lands in Kirkgunzeon and Colvend parishes were granted by Uchtred and Roland, and in the charters it will be found that Uchtred is called Hullredus, son of Fergus, and that the grants were made with consent of Roland, his heir, and Roland, son of Hulred (Uchtred). We have in this another link to the foreign extraction of the Fergus line. Cumberland was especially Norse for a considerable period. The origin of Uchtred is fully gone into under Mochrum, in vol. ii. 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway.' It is conclusive that Fergus, Uchtred, Roland, and Alan had no surname. It will be seen in the account of the Stewards of Scotland in vol. iv., 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway,' that they had none until Walter assumed the title of his office, since corrupted to Stewart as now known. This was some time between 1204 and 1246. Those who had surnames were given them in the charters, as William Comyn, Chancellor of Scotland, &c. Then, if the position of the names of witnesses in the charters were according to rank, as believed by some, it is clear that Fergus, &c., were considered of inferior position to the Comyns and others. In monastic chartularies, the royal family, when a grant was made by the Crown, came first; next bishops and officers of state; then earls, followed by lesser churchmen; and last, other lay witnesses or simple chaplains, often distinguished by the name of their places of worship. In the charter from King David, which we have given in full, it is addressed to the barons, minis-

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ters, &c., in which Fergus and his son are included. In fact, in everything that can be traced, it is confirmed in the most indisputable manner that the Lords of Galloway were only the governors of the district without a surname, and through Church and Court influence, had obtained the position as hereditary in the same manner as the first Steward secured his office for his descendants. That they were of Norse extraction or Anglo-Normans is equally clear, to which they owed their advancement, to the injury of the Celtic proprietors in the district. As Lord Lyndsay tells so truly, the Normans always held to each other, pushing one another on until they secured the best of the lands, and the highest posts under the Scottish sovereigns. As his own family is of Norman origin, his statement comes with more force. It is, however, without this, sufficiently clear to all those who carefully go into such points of history. It has been stated that Fergus was of Saxon descent. The evidence, however, of Norse extraction is too strong to allow of such a supposition. Until recently, everything in England was called Saxon, arising from the want of the information which is now possessed.

In regard to the surname M'Douall, which has been given to Fergus and his descendants without a vestige of foundation, we find it to be a comparatively modern assumption. In 'Leland's Collectedanea,' as we have shown, Roland is called "Rouland Falvaten." Leland died in London in 1552. In connection with Glenluce Abbey, Dugdale in his 'Monasticon' calls him Roland Macdoual. Dugdale died in 1686. From these sources it has been

assumed that MacDowall or MacDonall was the family surname. In the quotations given to support this assertion, only a portion has appeared. Dugdale states, "Rolandus Macdoual Princeps Gallouidiæ fundavit Abbathiam Vallislucis, Vulgo Glenluce, in Gallavoidia, cujus ultimus abbas suit D. Laurentius Gordon." The latter portion is what is omitted, and with some reason, as Laurence Gordon was Abbot and Commendator about the beginning of the seventeenth century, and died in 1610. Roland died 410 years previously. The value of the quotation is thus gone. Dugdale gives his authority, which is from "De Cænobiis Cisterciensium, Ex Mænelogis Cisterc, Aurore Chrysost. Henriquez *Ædito* Antwerptæ, anno 1630." Another entry appears in the same work, "Domina Dervorgilla Macdoual, filia Alani Brigantini Reguli, fœmina devorissima fundavit Monasterium Dulcis Cordis," &c. The remainder of this quotation will be found under 'New Abbey,' vol. v., and an account of the surname of MacDowall in the supplement to vol. ii., 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway.' We have given enough here to show the key to the statements which have appeared about the Brigantes, and the surname M'Dowall, creating an amount of confusion in regard to the Lords of Galloway which is to be regretted. It is scarcely necessary to state that this work, published at Antwerp in 1630, is not the Chronicle of Glenluce Abbey. In conclusion on this point, we have to repeat, as already done in connection with the different races in the district, that the Brigantes had nothing to do with Galloway, that the Fergus line of Lords of Galloway

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were foreigners in the district, probably Norsemen, and did not possess the name of M'Douall or MacDowall, or any other surname. Lastly, that the subserviency of all of them to the Kings of England, and specially Roland's swearing allegiance in the form done, brought on the district much ruin, and particularly so in the reign of King Edward, who was induced to look upon Galloway as belonging to England. The lands became owned to a large extent by those of Anglo-Norman and Flemish, &c., origin.

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BRUCE.

We have to enter on some other points connected with the general history of the kingdom; for after the deaths of Alexander III. in 1286, and his daughter and granddaughter, when the direct Scottish royal line ended, Galloway continued to be the scene of constant warfare, and civilisation was retarded to an extent scarcely credible, if not so well supported by facts. On the death of the king, it is known that a strong party (including Robert de Brus, the competitor, who died in 1295, and his son the Earl of Carrick, who died in 1304) was formed in Scotland ready to plunge the country into civil war, before the death of the Maiden of Norway (granddaughter). Hence, according to Sir F. Palgrave, the uneasiness of Bishop Lamberton on the subject: "Whereas our Lord the King is very anxious about the situation of the people of Galloway, on this side of the Cree, to save and defend them from their enemies (?) it is accorded that the Earl of Buchan look to those parts, and is ready with xxx men-at-arms; also John de St John with xx men-at-arms; also the Commons of Galloway with xx men-at arms; also

Alexander de Balliol with x men-at-arms; also Ingeram de Umphraville with xx men-at-arms. The xx men-at-arms of Galloway, when on duty, to be at the king's charge. Moreover, 1000 foot-soldiers from Galloway, this side of Cree, are to be always ready when the men-at-arms mount; but not to be paid when not employed. However, eight score men are to be always ready, receiving 2d. a-day from the king." It will be learned from the foregoing that Galloway, through the Lords of the Fergus line, had been made, and was virtually, a province of England, and yet it has been asserted that it was a kingdom. All this has been dispelled by the proofs to the contrary which we have given; and it should be known more generally, that so far as can be traced, with one exception ((Sir) William MacCairill of Cruggleton), all holding lands at the time were not true to Scottish rule. When Comyn was slain by Bruce at Dumfries, it will be seen that the English party in Galloway were deprived of a leader. Wigtown and other castles in the district were under the custody of King Edward. That of Cruggleton had been taken in 1282 by the treachery of a guest (Sir William *alias* Lord Soulis), who held it for King Edward of England. The owner, who escaped, joined the immortal Wallace when the standard of freedom was raised. He is the only one in Galloway known to have joined the patriot. He fought with him throughout. In 1297, Wallace went with him to Galloway, and they retook his castle, a place of great strength. The English garrison of sixty men were slain. In the following year (1298) tradition states that MacCairill was at

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the head of 500 men at the battle of Falkirk, and the most of whom were slain. On the 5th July (August ?) 1305, the two friends went to Robroyston near Glasgow, to wait for Robert the Bruce, who, having succeeded his father in 1304, although not openly espousing the cause of independence, was evidently waiting for an opportunity to do so and advance his own interest. The house was surrounded by (Sir) John Stewart of Ruskie and his followers, when the two fellow-patriots were asleep, and their arms having been silently removed by an attendant under the orders of the betrayer, they were thus helpless. MacCairill was slain, while Wallace was captured, and retained for a worse fate. MacCairill, of high Irish-Scot lineage, was one of the few who never acknowledged English supremacy. Would that others in the district had been as independent! According to the then rule of the Church, the bishop of the diocese, and the prior, &c., at Whithorn, became the guardians of his only son, and the monks (many of whom were foreigners), writing by sound, spelled the name Kerlie, and as M'Kerlie it has been retained. Out of Galloway the name Ker has been confused with it. A very good modern example of phonetical spelling happened (August 1890) in a leading Scottish paper, in which appeared that Colonel Thearle of Galloway and the officers of the Ayr and Galloway Militia had given a ball. If the regiment had not been named, the Colonel Thearle probably would not have been noticed, but knowing that the Earl of Galloway was in command, the error was seen. Many, however, would accept

it as it was given. So in times past were names thus distorted, and scarcely now recognisable.

King Edward with cunning acted cautiously, and therefore with the greater danger to Scotland. He pretended only to hold the castles in Galloway until a decision should be come to as regarded the claims to the crown of Scotland. He looked, however, on the district as his own, and he was ably assisted by the many traitors. As his puppet in 1292, Wigtown Castle was ordered by him to be given up to John Baliol as King of Scotland; and after he resigned the crown, Edward appointed a governor, &c., disposed of the ecclesiastical benefices, and obliged the sheriffs to account to his exchequer at Berwick. In September 1296, the castles of Ayr, Wigtown, Cruggleton, and Botel were committed to the keeping of Henry de Percy. We have mentioned elsewhere that King Edward had restored to Thomas, natural son of Alan, all the lands, &c., which his father had left him. This was under a formal charter, dated 6th March 1295-6, granted as superior lord of Scotland; and further, on the same day, at the request of the said Thomas, this King of England bestowed a charter to the men and the whole community of Galloway, that they should enjoy all the liberties and customs which their ancestors had enjoyed in the time of David, King of Scotland, and in the time of Alan, father of the said Thomas. The policy of thus restoring the Celtic privileges of the people, as well as the lands of Thomas, was obvious in the approaching struggle for supremacy. Percy, who was also patron of the benefices to the value of

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thirty merks, had himself one thousand merks as governor of Galloway and Ayrshire. This discreditable state of affairs in Scotland was brought about entirely through the descendants of the Anglo-Normans and Flemings, &c., who had been permitted to settle, and were exalted to positions to which the origin, &c., of most of them, or services, presented no claim. It was one of those periodical manias which are to be met with in different forms in the past and up to the present time. At the period we write of, there was this difference — the all-powerful Church supported them, and they supported the Church, which was the strength on which they worked, and exercised with enormous success. As for Scottish nationality, they had none. They cared not under which king they lived. Self-interest alone dictated all they did. If the noble Wallace had not raised the standard of independence, Scotland's fate was sealed as a kingdom. It is to the great patriot, Sir William Wallace, and his small band of brave fellow-patriots, that Scotland as a kingdom was saved. Sir William fought under every disadvantage. The jealousy of the Anglo-Normans, &c., who had risen to power was great, and the means taken to throw difficulties in his way were many. The feudal system, introduced for their benefit, kept many of the natives on the lands which they had obtained from joining in the defence of their country. Yet Wallace, with the truest patriotism, looking for nothing but the freedom of his oppressed country, stood firm in his purpose to the end of his career. It is known that Bruce

fought against this great patriot, joining the English, and doing all in his power to defeat the hero of Scotland. John Baliol's claim was founded on being the great-grandson by Margaret, the eldest daughter, and Robert Bruce claimed as the grandson of Isobel, the second and youngest daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon and Chester, younger brother of King William of Scotland, usually called the Lion, from having been the first Scottish monarch who assumed the figure of a lion rampant on his shield. We have mentioned under our account of the Norsemen that the lion rampant is considered to be peculiarly Scandinavian, and borne in the arms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. The relative positions of Baliol and Bruce as competitors were as described by us. Both were vassals of the King of England for lands owned there, and were really foreigners in Scotland. The Brus origin from some Norman source was no doubt good; but being the descendant of Brusi, of the Norse Jarl or Earl of Orkney line, as has been given, is untenable, if dates are consulted, as we have shown in 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway,' vol. v. p. 384. Among those who crossed the Channel with the Conqueror was a Robert de Brix, which name is said to be the same as Brus or Bruis; and a castle now called Brix, near to Cherbourg, is stated to have been built in the eleventh century by Adam de Brus, and called after him "Chateau d'Adam." The ruins are still to be seen, as mentioned. All we can corroborate is, that the name of Robert de Brix is on the Dive list, which will be given as a Supplement. We

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think that it is the Brus line of descent. When Robert the Bruce became the champion of Scotland, it was not until the patriot, and the most of his brave fellow-patriots, had sealed their love of country with their lives. They opened the way for Bruce by keeping up in their countrymen the feeling of independence. True, few had responded to the call at first, but, as we have already mentioned, they were kept back by the Anglo-Norman, &c., settlers, whose ancestors had obtained lands and influence under the new feudal system, to the serious loss of the Celtic inhabitants. The author of 'Scotland as it was, and as it now is,' is highly laudatory in his remarks regarding the feudal system, and doubtless he is right so far as those now in possession are concerned; but he overlooks what occurred on its introduction, and in the carrying it out.

We have already referred to the claims of Robert the Bruce to the throne. It was remote, but, from longer lives, a generation in degree nearer than John Baliol, an Englishman. The latter, however, was the legal King of Scotland, according to the law of descent. The royal blood in either claimant was small in quantity. Bruce at last, by the treachery of Comyn, and in killing him, was forced to follow in the noble steps of the great Wallace. Baliol, on the other hand, was throughout but a puppet of King Edward, and sank into degradation. He obtained the crown through the support of the King of England on acknowledging him as lord paramount of Scotland; then on being crowned on the 19th November 1292, he swore fealty the next

day, and on the 30th of the same month was compelled again to do homage. So humiliating a position had he placed himself and Scotland in, that in the course of one year he was summoned four times to appear before King Edward in the English Parliament. It was only this, and other insults, that roused him to throw off his allegiance to Edward. Bruce, however, might have had as little success as Baliol, and struggled with less chance of victory than Wallace, had not King Edward unwittingly aided him by trying to interfere with Church patronage in Scotland. This was the key to the success of Bruce. The Church would not tolerate the interference of Edward, although previously in most instances minions to English interests, from having been so mixed up with Anglo-Norman, &c., endowments, &c. Edward thus gave Bruce the most powerful support, for the Church, which had excommunicated him for the slaughter of Comyn at Dumfries, not only restored him to Church privileges, but raised a diversion in his favour, which brought to his standard many possessed of power who had previously stood aloof; and at last he was placed on the throne by the aid of eleven bishops, a score of abbots and priors, and a few powerful adherents. In fact, he could not have been crowned, had not the Abbot of Melrose advanced him six thousand merks. To be brief, both were great champion warriors; but there never would have been a Bruce as such, had there not been a Wallace. The first cannot be classed with the latter as a patriot. Bruce fought for a crown,

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and Wallace for nothing but love of country. The first, an Anglo-Norman, has been called rich and noble; and the latter stated to be possessed of neither, yet certainly of as good origin, being of the ancient Cymric race, and there is every reason to believe that for centuries his ancestors were chiefs in Kyle, Ayrshire. Buchanan calls him a man of an ancient and noble family, but with little or no estate.

THE
STEWARDS
(STEW-
ARTS).

Some recent writers, from motives which we can understand, have described the Wallace race as vassals of the Stewarts; but it is unfair so to mention families without giving the full history, or a correct outline. It is only from the twelfth century that the Stewarts are known, and first in the person of Walter, who entered the household of King David I. as *skutilsveinar*—i.e., kitchen-page, as believed. His grandfather's name was Flaad, who is said to have been a follower of William the Conqueror, but of whom nothing is known. Attempts have been made to try and show that he came from Brittany, but without success. It is certain that he was not of note, for the Conqueror was lavish in giving lands to his followers, and, as admitted by Eyton in his 'History of Shropshire and its Antiquities,' neither Flaad nor his son Alan were possessed of any lands in England before the beginning of the reign of King Henry I., the Conqueror's grandson. The first infeftment of lands was in Norfolk in A.D. 1100 or 1101, and next in Shropshire after 1102, and before 1109. Domesday Book was commenced

subsequent to 1080, and completed in 1086. After the Conquest William the Conqueror did not reside much in England; and as he died in A.D. 1087, this precludes the supposition that some after infestment may have been made by him. With Flaad's son their history commences. He was evidently one of those scattered over England as military police to keep down the natives, or rather the Anglo-Saxons, so called. He was located at Osewstry, Shropshire, married well, and founded the Fitz-Alan family. His youngest son Walter, as we have stated, entered the service of King David. He was apparently possessed of ability, as he rose to be *dapifer*—i.e., dish-bearer—then steward over the household, culminating in having as steward the control of the national revenue. As the title of *dapifer* was retained for some time, it may have been coupled with the house-stewardship. Anyhow, when the control of the revenue was obtained, the fortune of the family was made. Lands were secured as the superior of, and others as actual ownership, in various districts, amongst them being that portion of Kyle (therefore called Kyle-Stewart) where the Wallaces were originally located. Thus as a superior he was raised over the Wallaces, who therefore could be called vassals, but such did not make the latter the inferiors in origin and in original position, of one who had sprung from obscurity. These aggressive charter-givings we have already several times mentioned. A great deal of romantic sentimental feeling has emanated from various episodes in the Stewart family history, while the trouble they brought on Scotland has been largely overlooked.

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As Anglo-Normans they often acted as traitors, and without entering into particulars, which will be found under Garlies, vol. iv., 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway,' we will merely repeat here that the betrayer of Wallace was John of Ruskie, son of Walter, who was the third son of Walter the third High Steward. His father, Walter, married the youngest daughter of the third Earl of Menteith, and got the earldom and lands taken by force from her elder sister in 1258. She had married Walter Comyn, second son of William, Earl of Buchan, in 1231. The issue failed, but during her lifetime, or of her issue, had she any, the title and lands were her property. She was thus defrauded of her rights. Walter of the Steward line, who did this, had two sons by his wife: Alexander, who succeeded, and through his mother became sixth Earl of Menteith; and John, the betrayer of Wallace. The name of Menteith, for long detested in Scotland, was improperly put forward, as it was assumed, by them. For the abominable crime he obtained from King Edward I. of England £100 worth of land, independent of the lordship of the Lennox. The author¹ of 'The Book of Wallace' conveyed to us that he first learned in our 'Account of the Earldom of Mar,' &c., who the real betrayer was; and we regret to find that, while giving the truthful narrative, he has not adhered to his proper name, nor in his speech delivered

¹ Since what we give was written, we regret to state that the author referred to died on the 18th September 1890. As the Secretary of the "Grampian Club," he did good service in the reproduction of various chartularies, &c.

at Stirling Castle on the 17th November 1888, when the supposed sword borne by the patriot, and handed over to the traitor, was delivered to be lodged in the monument at Abbey Craig. Under Garlies, vol. iv., 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway,' we gave a brief outline of the Wallace and Bruce origin, &c.

*The
Stewards
(Stewarts.)*
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As a subject of historical interest we have to refer to Henry the Minstrel's statement regarding the patriot's issue. There have been differences of opinion as to legitimacy or illegitimacy, but no one expressed in such decided terms what has appeared in the recent publication entitled 'The Book of Wallace.' In its pages we are told "The entire narrative is baseless; the patriot died unmarried. Nor does he seem to have had any illegitimate issue." The way this conclusion is arrived at is not satisfactory. Harry the Minstrel states that Wallace was married, and left a daughter, which information was obtained from an account written by Mr John Blair, who acted as the patriot's chaplain; and his (Henry's) narrative is called a true translation of the "fayr Latyn of Maister Blayr." The original is not now extant, but that it existed has never been doubted. One of those who, in later times, seems to have seen it, was Thomas Chalmers, author of 'A History of the House of Douglas.' The patriot's reputed wife was Marion, the daughter of Hew Braidfute of Lamington. The author of 'The Book of Wallace' follows Dr Jamieson's edition of 'The Minstrel.' The words are (Book Fifth)—

WAL-
LACE'S
DAUGH-
TER.

*Wallace's
Daughter.*

“In Lanryk duelt a gentill woman thar,
A madyn myld, as my buk will declar,
Off auchteyn yeris ald or litill mor off age :
Als born scho was till part of heretage.
Hyr fadyr was off worschipe and renoune,
And Hew Braidfute he hecht of Lammyngtoune.”

Her father and mother are mentioned as being dead, and in Book Sixth, p. 103, is written—

“Myn auctor sais, scho was his rychtwyss wyffe.”

And at p. 104—

“The werray treuth I can nocht graithly tell,
In to this lyff how lang at thai had beyne :
Throuch naturall coursse off generacioune befell,
A child was chewyt thir twa luffaris betuene,
Quhilk gudly was, a maydyn brycht and schene ;
So forthyr furth, be ewyn tyme off hyr age,
A Squier Schaw, as that full weyll was seyne,
This lyflat man hyr gat in marriage.”

Next verse—

“Rycht gudly men come off this lady ying.
Forthyr as now off hyr I spek no mar.”

Dr Jamieson's edition of the Minstrel was published by the Bannatyne Club in 1820 from a MS. dated A.D. 1488. The author of 'The Book of Wallace' states that in another edition published in 1594 the following additional lines are given :—

“This vthir maid wedded ane Squyar whicht
Quhilk was weill knawin as cummin of Baliols blude.
And thair airies be lyne succeidid richt
To Lammintoun and vther landis gude.
Of this mater the richt quha understude,
Heirot as now I will na mair proceid,
Of my sentence schortlie to conclude,
Of vther thing my purpois is to reid.”

We know nothing of the edition of 1594 from which the foregoing extract is given. It is not to be traced in the Advocates', Signet, or British Museum Libraries. It is, however, to be found mentioned in "Heber's Catalogue, pt. iv. p. 384, No. 2851, black letter, extremely rare," &c. "Im-
 prentit at Edinburgh be Henrie Charteris, 1594." We are of opinion that the date is a mistake, and the description refers to that published in 1570 by Lekpraik for Henry Charteris, Edinburgh, which is in "black letter," and the only copy known to be extant belonged to Queen Elizabeth, and is in the British Museum Library, London. We have often looked over it in past and present years. We will give the lines from it, which will show that they are almost the same. First of all, the last line of sixth verse of "Buik Sext" gives—

"Myne author sayis scho was his weddit wyfe."

This is nearly identical with Dr Jamieson's edition. What follows are the additional lines stated to be found in an edition of 1594, and which, in that of 1570, p. 53, are—

"This uther maid weddit ane Squyar Wicht,
 Qubilk weill was knawin cummin of Balliollis blude.
 And thair airies be lyne succedit richt,
 To Lamintoun and uther landis gude.
 Of this mater the richt quha understude
 Heirof as now I will na mair proceed.
 Of my sentence than schortly to conclude
 Of uther thing my purpois is to reid."

The next verse commences with—

"Richt gudely men come of this lady ying
 Farther as now of thame I speik na mair."

*Wallace's
 Daughter.*

*Wallace's
Daughter.*

From the words "other maid," the author of 'The Book of Wallace' concludes that another daughter is referred to—that is, the patriot is made to have had two daughters, whereas, in the original MS., only one is mentioned. He therefore declares the whole to be fictitious. To use his own words, "The Minstrel has fabricated a web of fiction." It seems to us, however, that he has created a web of confusion, for it has escaped his notice that the "other maid" might refer to the daughter of Marion Braidfute by her husband — Schaw. The oral histories and traditions in districts are not to be put aside because they are not corroborated by extant documents. The latter are too often silent in regard to previous history and particulars, or give false statements, which would never have been discovered had it not been for the private accounts of families and local traditions handed down. As we will show under our account of the Church, charters were obtained under false representations, and truthful history suppressed. We possess the confirmation (the original lost) of one granted by King Robert I. (the Bruce) to the prior, &c., of the Priory of Whithorn, when he was lying sick there, "and wheedled owt o' verie monie lands," which was based on fraud, the names of persons being given as the previous owners who are known not to have possessed an acre of land in Galloway. Our friend and correspondent, the late well-known Mr David Laing, LL.D., &c., Signet Library, Edinburgh, presented it to us. We have given it in full in vol. ii. of 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway.' Retours are also

found with the names of lands given as belonging to individuals while owned by others. Burton's 'History of Scotland' gives some insight as to the value of charters for truthful history. He fully exposed the fallacy of trusting implicitly to such evidence, which we fully corroborate from research experience. We therefore reject the assertion made in opposition to Henry the Minstrel's account. Had it been false, as now asserted, the finding such out would not have devolved on the author of 'The Book of Wallace' four hundred years afterwards. The patriot was too much of a public character for such a statement as having left issue, if false, to have been allowed to remain uncleared and unexposed, more particularly so as regarded the Baillies, whose name, as mentioned by Nesbit in his 'Book of Heraldry,' was Baliol, and so odious in Scotland that it was changed to Baillie. Those of Lamington have always claimed to be the descendants of Wallace's child. We regret that no desire was felt by us to become acquainted with the late Lord Lamington (the heir in line), by making known in time that we were also interested; but, aware of 'The Book of Wallace' being in progress, we advised him of the same. His reply was—

*Wallace's
Daughter.*

“ 26 WILTON CRESCENT, LONDON,
2d May 1888.

“DEAR SIR,—I am obliged to you for your letter. It is well known to all historic readers that Sir William Wallace did have a daughter who married into the Baillie family. I fear that I have not the

*Wallace's
Daughter.*

time to collect all the authorities, but if disputed, the history will be inaccurate.— I am, faithfully yours,
LAMINGTON."

This conveys nothing special, but it sustains the claim, believed for so many centuries, that the Baillies were the representatives of the patriot, and in what way this arose we think the context will show. First of all, however, we may mention that the original name was Baillieul. Renaud de Baillieul is given on the Dive list as one of those who accompanied William the Conqueror to England in 1066. He appears to have returned to Normandy, and his son Guy went to England with William Rufus in 1087, when he succeeded his father as King of England. His father possessed Baillieul, Dampierre, Harcourt, and other lands in Normandy, from the first of which the surname was derived. This was the line from which was John Baliol, Lord of Galloway, and for a short time the puppet King of Scotland. There is a small town so called about two miles from Argenton. The lands in Normandy were retained, and large grants were bestowed in England. It has been stated that Sir Alexander Baliol of Cavers was uncle of John Baliol. This cannot be traced, but he certainly was of the same family, and his chamberlain during his reign in 1292. By his wife Isabel, daughter and heiress of Richard de Chillam (widow of David de Strathbogie, Earl of Athole), he had two sons, Alexander and William, and it was the younger son to whom the lands of Penston (also Hoprig) in Haddingtonshire, and Conbrue were

granted. He was the Sir William Baillie who is mentioned as having married the heiress of Lamington, and thereby obtained the estate. In A.D. 1357, he obtained from Sir John Hamilton of Cadzow a charter of the lands of Hyndshaw and Walston. The "uther maid" appears to have been his wife, and the granddaughter of the patriot and Marion Braidfute, by their daughter who married — Schaw. The patriot's daughter must have been born in 1298, and thus, between that date and 1357, time fully admitted for — Schaw and his wife to have had a daughter married. Because direct proof is wanting, the author of 'The Book of Wallace' calls it fiction. If in this case, in all others should positive proof be required; and if so, most if not all the ancient proprietors in Scotland might be classed as illegitimate, for since the Reformation, when the registers, &c., in the religious houses were destroyed by interested individuals, legal proof as to marriages, &c., were lost to most families. Unchallenged for centuries, and nothing found to disprove, must be accepted as the proof. Even since the Reformation, in too many cases the parish records are worthless or faulty as regards marriages, births, and deaths. Some years show blank—not an entry—others with one or two, almost as if general stagnation had existed. Baptisms in some instances were attested by witnesses. Without such precautions how could legitimacy in after-times be verified, if insisted on? and yet attestation by witnesses was exceptional and not general. With royalty illegitimacy could not be concealed, but

*Wallace's
Daughter.*

*Wallace's
Daughter.*

the way such issue was provided for rather acted as an incentive, for it brought no disgrace. It is too common, unfortunately, to fail in finding the Christian names of wives, and in many other cases even who they were is in darkness, and cannot be traced. We also know that assumed issue and changelings were not unfrequent: one is known to us as having occurred so late as last century. Our object in introducing such subjects is to show that the want of positive proof of Wallace having had a daughter, either by marriage or otherwise, is in no way opposed to what has come down as a fact to the present time.

In 1587 the male line of the Baillies of Lamington terminated with the succession of Margaret, who succeeded her father, Sir William Baillie. He had married Margaret, daughter of Lord Maxwell, and widow of Archibald, Earl of Angus. His daughter and heiress, the said Margaret, married her cousin Edward Maxwell, Commendator of Dundrennan Abbey, and had issue. The subsequent ownership is remarkable for the number of heiresses. Including Margaret, already given, there have been five, with intermediate male descendants, their issue. The property has thus gone by marriage to five different families, the last being Cochrane, from a younger son of the eighth Earl of Dundonald. Until created a peer as Lord Lamington, the late baron was well known in Parliament as Baillie-Cochrane. He has been succeeded by his son Charles Wallace, now Lord Lamington, and from what he has conveyed to us, we do not think that he will allow the Wallace descent to be obscured.

From 1587, the direct male line of the Baillies from the patriot's daughter was carried on by the Baillies of Dunragit, in Wigtonshire, the representatives of the younger branch of the patriot's and his wife's granddaughter. The first of Dunragit in Galloway was Cuthbert Baillie, who was rector of Cumnock, and became Commendator of Glenluce Abbey. He was also Lord High Treasurer of Scotland from 1512 to 1514, when he died. He became the owner of the Dunragit estate, which is close to the Abbey. Whom he married is unknown, but he left male issue, which in succession was continued to the eighteenth century, when the last owner, Thomas Baillie, died. He lost his father when he was a boy, and during his minority the property became owned by his next neighbour, who had risen to power. This curious case is mentioned in 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway.' The transaction requires elucidation, and closer investigation is now being given. The seizure is supposed to have been by the foreclosing of a wadset. It was not a solitary case: there were too many first and last in Galloway, which the times facilitated. The young laird did not long survive the announcement of his unexpected ruin. He had gone to Edinburgh more than once to claim and have his estate restored, but without success, for four sons of the aggressor were the leading lawyers of the day, and some of them on the bench. Persevering, he once more started for Edinburgh, accompanied by his cousin, John M'Kerlie. They were both on law business. In crossing the rapid and deep river Cree in a boat (for there was no bridge at that time), it was upset.

*Wallace's
Daughter.*

*Wallace's
Daughter.*

They got to land, but their papers went to the bottom, and were lost. Thomas Baillie was a high-spirited young man, but this misfortune crushed him. He shortly afterwards died at the roadside inn where they had taken shelter. Such was the end of the last Baillie of Dunragit. The representation of this branch of the Baillies then for the first time went with the female line, and to his cousin, John M'Kerlie, whose mother was sister to the young laird's father. This we mention, as the new representative of the Baillies of Dunragit was the lineal male descendant and representative of (Sir) William MacCairill or M'Kerlie of Cruggleton, the co-patriot and last earthly friend of Sir William Wallace the patriot. Brief particulars of their betrayal we have already given under "The Succession Wars." The male descent of the Baillies of Dunragit had thus existed for more than a century after it had failed in the house of Lamington. The generations were also fewer in the Dunragit family. As King James V. is stated to have exclaimed as regards the crown when the birth of the Princess Mary was announced, "It cam wi' a lassie, and wull gang wi' a lassie," so the Wallace blood came and went in the families of the Baillies of Lamington and Dunragit. The fact of both branches having become connected with Galloway is worthy of notice, and more particularly the power of the Church is shown when it is noted that the estates of Lamington, Dunragit, and then Park, passed to the Maxwells, Baillies, and Hays, when Commendators of Dundrennan and Glenluce Abbeys. The Vaux or Vaus family is another ex-

ample in Galloway of Church influence. We may add that none of them were of Celtic origin.

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The foregoing digression is caused by the decided tone assumed by the author of 'The Book of Wallace' in regard to the issue of Wallace. He states: "That Henry availed himself of written narratives is entirely credible, and in evidence it may be remarked that the localities associated with the patriot are described accurately. But whatever the actual sources of his authority, the Minstrel has in utilising them lapsed frequently into error. His details consist of a series of episodes brought together without order, or any approach to chronological arrangement, and many of his statements are inconsistent with each other." He then goes on to state: "But while thoroughly unreliable as an historical guide, Henry's testimony may be fairly accepted in relation to such of the hero's achievements as are confirmed by an intelligent tradition." Why, then, have written so much about it? We are aware that the Minstrel gives contradictory statements, and we also know that he failed to describe much of great interest, not only as regards the companions of Wallace, their positions, and the localities to which they belonged, but also much in connection with various other matters. It is a loss which is greatly regretted, but it should not be forgotten that Wallace's actions were carried out over a large part of Scotland, and his intimate associates and co-patriots were natives of different districts, and therefore the wonder is, or should be, to those who study the subject, that so much which must be accepted as accurate could have been

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handed down by a blind minstrel. Times are now different, and much can be done to educate the blind. As many now living can remember, in the late Right Hon. Henry Fawcett the United Kingdom had a most able Postmaster-General and member of the House of Commons. To Galwegians it can be brought home closer when we refer to A. Denniston, the well-known teacher of music in Galloway, and also writer, as letters in the local press have shown. He is still in existence. We do not profess to know much about the blind, but we have heard of the wonderful instinct with which they are blessed; and we can relate that twenty years ago, when on the Whithorn road, an intelligent pedestrian made up to and spoke to us. He directed our attention to the places around, and specially to Craggleton Castle when abreast of it, telling us that it had belonged to the M'Kerlies, "wha war aye fechten." This happened several miles from his place of residence. He heard our footstep, and by our voice evidently concluded that we did not belong to that part of the country. He did not know us. We learned to our surprise afterwards that our companion must have been Denniston from Whithorn, and sure enough it was him. Now, in this case we had not the most remote idea that we were conversing with a blind man. Certainly we had not met face to face, for we were going the same way. We thus give two examples in our own lifetime, and consequently we dispute anything disparaging to "Henry the Minstrel." We have also proof from the Lord High Treasurer's accounts that he was not an ordinary

minstrel; for in the payments made to him by order of King James IV., his name is given as "Item to Blind Hary," whereas to a musician, "Item till a harper." The same follows in payments to others about Court, whose names are not given. From 1489 to 1491 we find six payments made to him. That he was a man of ability, and more than an ordinary minstrel, is evident.

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We regret that the author of 'The Book of Wallace' should have raised objections to the narrative, which is now valued by most authorities. He gives the Minstrel credit undoubtedly, but it would have been better let alone. We can all raise objections, and thus following "the author's" example, we object to his describing Boyd as Wallace's lieutenant, which no one else has ever done. The Boyds have been called the descendants of Simon, the younger brother of Walter, the first of the Stewart line. This Simon is stated to have had a son named Robert, who, from his fair complexion, was called Boyt or Boyd, from the Gaelic *boidh*. In 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway,' under Garlies, vol. v., the particulars are given. What we relate there of the Stewards and their origin does not afford any pretext for placing Boyd while with Wallace as holding a higher position than the others who composed the small band of co-patriots. Such was not his position: others stood higher. Also, English authorities are not to be exalted as infallible or trustworthy, for with all the advantages possessed, which far exceeded those in Scotland, they are yet unreliable in many historical particulars.

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There was a very fair account of the patriot (4th edition, published in 1864), entitled 'Wallace and his Times.' It was written by James Paterson. His style we do not admire, and room is left for a more perfect and finished history; but yet the basis is good, and a proper national spirit throughout prevails. The question is, Where will any historical work be found which is free from mistakes, or defects of some kind or other? Some of the Minstrel's statements may be called inconsistent with others that are given; but to show how such criticism may be extended, would not 'The Book of Wallace' have conveyed in better form what it contains had it been entitled 'The Surname Wallace'? The bringing together all bearing the name, past and present, and coupling them with an outline history of the patriot, makes them all as one, and a race of heroes because he was one. "The Wallace" was an exceptional man, and should be kept as such. We make these observations, as families unknown in the patriot's time are now thrust forward in his history, while his companions-in-arms are scarcely mentioned, and when so, not all of their names to be found in the index, while unknown names in his day are in abundance. As one example, Stephen of Ireland is not mentioned. He is believed to have been an expatriated Irish chief—was one of Wallace's most gallant companions, and is often named in all previous histories as a brave warrior. He was one of the three who climbed the giddy height (the rock is over 150 feet high, with the sea beneath), when Cruggleton Castle was retaken,

which we have described elsewhere. His companions were Wallace and MacCairill, *alias* M'Kerlie, the owner. The first of the latter's ancestors who settled in Galloway was an Irish-Scot, which we gave at p. 88; and the fact that Stephen and he are usually mentioned as having been together when fighting, leads to the belief that they were not only companions-in-arms, but of a closer tie. Galloway was peopled with Irish-Scots of the Goidel (Gaelic) race. Another omission in 'The Book of Wallace,' in the list of places bearing the patriot's name, is "Wallace's Camp" on Boreland farm, near Garlies Castle, parish of Minnigaff; and where, as believed, the halt was made before marching towards Wigtown Castle, and then at night to Cruggleton, about twelve miles further on.

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We do not know who is answerable for another inconsistency, in the misuse of the patriot's name in filling the monument at Abbey Craig with the busts of men great in their respective lines, but without any connection in any form or way with the patriot's family, or as the descendants of those who had shared in the struggle. The monument thus becomes derogatory to the memory of the patriot as a warrior. The Duke of Argyll, in 'Scotland as it was, and as it is,' writes as follows: "Who can compute or reckon up the debt which Scotland owes to the few gallant men who, inspired by a splendid courage and a noble faith, stood by the Bruce in the War of Independence? Some of these men were the descendants of ancestors who had held the same relative service in all the olden

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contests which had built up the kingdom of the nation." It will be observed that Wallace's name is not mentioned, but his and his co-patriots' services may be hinted at in the last sentence, in obscure language. As we have already mentioned under "The Succession Wars," Bruce was for long on the English side. When at last he fought for Scotland, it was for the crown, and he gained it through the influence of the Church in stirring up the Anglo-Normans and other foreigners in Scotland to join his standard. It was with Bruce that Campbell of Lochowe really saw service. Wallace went to his aid in Argyllshire in 1297, and secured for him his position; but Campbell does not appear to have followed the patriot. This probably has caused Bruce to be thrust into a wrong position in 'Scotland as it was, and as it is,' for to Wallace and his small band of co-patriots does Scotland owe its independence. Bruce no doubt followed, and was a great warrior, but it was the noble struggle of Wallace and his few close companions that kept alive the spirit of independence so lauded in 'Scotland as it was, and as it is'; for under the feudal system, introduced through the influence of the Church of Rome, and the Anglo-Norman and other foreign settlers, to secure their forced position, the people, and especially those in the Highlands, had sunk into feudal bondage, and were unable to move, if those in possession of the land did not act. The struggle was thus a desperate one in having pioneered and kept open the way for Bruce, and his followers reaped the reward. He gained the crown, and lavishly

did he bestow lands and honours on those who supported him in the end, with service short. Wallace and most of his brave companions were slain, or had died. One of them, our own ancestor, left his son too young to bear arms, and as a ward of the churchmen at Whithorn Priory, his existence, for reasons mentioned in 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway,' was kept from the knowledge of Bruce, and his father's services were thus overlooked. Scotsmen would do well to know more about the great struggle for their country's freedom, and also to study the patriot's character, and follow his constitutional course. He was Conservative in all his actions. The lines, "Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled," &c., are known in every household. They are sung freely, as if every man had had an ancestor who had so shed his blood. His constant companions throughout, and other followers, however, were few in number; but, nevertheless, as Wallace is appreciated by all as the real deliverer of Scotland from English supremacy, Scotsmen should be awakened from their erroneous views and mischievous Radicalism, under the mistaken idea of such being liberty, a course foreign to what he aimed at, and would have repudiated. Thereby they will do honour to his memory.

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We will now resume the general history, and return to A.D. 1300, when King Edward I. overran Eastern Galloway, and sent a small force across the Cree into the western part (Wigtonshire). The object was to overawe, and at the same time try to conciliate, the inhabitants. The success attend-

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ing this is not known ; but as connections of Somerled, ruler of Argyll, the MacDoualls (MacDougalls), who had settled in the district from Argyllshire, followed their ancestor (Somerled) in the opposition given to the Bruce claim, and attacked Thomas and Alexander Bruce on the 9th February 1306-7 on their arrival at Loch Ryan with 700 men from Ireland and Cantyre. Dougal or Dungal MacDouall or MacDougall was the leader, and the Bruces, with Reginald Craufurd, being severely wounded, were captured, and sent to Carlisle, where they were executed without delay. MacDouall also sent as trophies the heads of Malcolm M'Kail, styled Lord of Cantyre, and those of two Irish chiefs who had been slain. We are inclined to believe that the three were Irish-Scots from Antrim. For this special service, so pleasing to King Edward, by "de manu regis," MacDouall was knighted on the 26th March of the same year. On the 7th July following (1307), King Edward died, which was a happy event for Scotland. Robert the Bruce, in revenge for the loss of his brothers, went to Galloway in the autumn of 1307, and directed the inhabitants to join his standard. He ravaged the lands of the MacDoualls, and those of other enemies. St John was then governor of the district, to whom King Edward II. sent a large force to act against Bruce, who then retired to the north. Next year, however, his brother Edward went to Galloway, and defeated the MacDoualls and others opposed to him on the 29th June 1308. The slaughter is stated to have been great. John St John, at the head of 1500 horsemen, was surprised

by Edward Bruce near the Cree, and totally defeated. He drove out the English, and reduced the district to allegiance. The lands forfeited by Baliol, Comyn, Earl of Buchan (who had fled to England), and the other heir-parceners, together with the lordship of Galloway, were conferred upon Edward by his brother, Robert Bruce. He had also the earldom of Carrick, both of which combined gave him great power in the south-west. As Lord of Galloway, he not only confirmed the possessions and privileges of the religious houses, but conferred upon them additional gifts. His brother, the king, had been greatly imposed on, and especially by the prior, &c., of Whithorn, in regard to lands over which they wished to have the superiority. In 1310, Edward II. appointed Inglegram de Umfraville to negotiate with the Galwegians, but he failed in his purpose. In 1312, however, Duncan MacDouall, son of Dungal, adhered to the English interest by accepting the protection of King Edward II. In May 1315, Edward Bruce, with 6000 men, went over to Ireland to assist the Irish to free themselves from the English rule, and his brother, the king, followed him with a reinforcement. Edward Bruce was crowned King of Ireland, but not being properly supported, after three years' continuous fighting, he fell at the battle of Faughart, near Dundalk, on the 14th October 1318. He was not married, but Isabel, sister of David, Earl of Athole, had a natural son to him, named Alexander, to whom the king gave the lordship of Galloway, limiting the gift to his heirs-male; but he fell at the battle

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of Halidon Hill, on the 19th July 1333, leaving an only daughter, Eleanor, by Eleanor Douglas, who inherited the earldom of Carrick.

In 1330, after the death of King Robert I., Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, made a progress through Galloway, and held a justice court at Wigton; and in 1332 the district was ravaged by him and Archibald Douglas, in revenge for the share they had in forcing the Scots to abandon their designs on Perth. During the minority of King David II., Edward III. of England renewed the War of Succession by supporting the pretensions of Edward, son of John Baliol, who had abdicated the throne. In the war which ensued, Galloway was peculiarly involved. The new connection of the Baliol and other English families, coupled with those of doubtful Celtic origin, such as the MacDoualls, &c., in the district, produced the natural effect. The introduction of the Anglo-Normans, &c. resulted in a numerous band of unreliable settlers on Scottish soil. When King David II. was captured at the battle of Durham in 1347, Sir Malcolm Fleming (who for services had been created Earl of Wigton) and others shared the same fate. The earl, however, escaped. MacDouall and his son Duncan were also captured, but liberated on giving hostages to take part against the Scots. This service of the MacDoualls with King David was exceptional, and did not last long. The English victory at Durham encouraged Edward Baliol, who, to obtain influence with the Galwegians, took up his residence in Buittle Castle. The MacDoualls and MacCullochs, with some others, who were in

the pay of the King of England (Rot. Scotiæ), supported him in this movement. It was futile. When, however, a negotiation was in progress for the release of David II., Patrick Maculach, William de Aldebrugh, and John de Wigginton, commissioners for Baliol, made a protestation to Edward III. and his council, against injuring his rights, who gave an assurance to that effect. In 1353, Sir William Douglas of Douglas entered Galloway in command of a force, and reduced it to obedience. Duncan MacDouall, one of the leaders who opposed him, was compelled to renounce fealty to the King of England, which he did in Cumnock Church in Ayrshire, in presence of the Regent Stewart, and which vow he afterwards faithfully adhered to.

The foreign blood introduced into the district, principally through King David I. and the first lords of Galloway, produced the evil effects mentioned, which could not have been foreseen. The failure of the Baliol insurrection brought trouble to not a few of his supporters; but most of them acknowledged Bruce, and thus saved themselves. The MacDoualls and the MacCullochs contrived to exist, notwithstanding all the changes that occurred, which in some measure may be ascribed to the support they obtained from the Kings of England, whose vassals they virtually were, having received both pay and pensions. Even, however, after the disturbances mentioned had been got over, still it did not bring peace to the district. Sir Malcolm Fleming, the first Earl of Wigton, was succeeded by his grandson Thomas, his own son having predeceased him. This successor, as

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appears by a charter dated 8th February 1371-2, disposed of the earldom, "in consideration of a large sum of money," to Sir Archibald Douglas, having been induced to sell it on "account of grievous feuds that had arisen between him and the more powerful of the ancient indigenous inhabitants of the earldom (majores indigenas comitatus predicti)."—(Robertson's 'Index.') This charter was confirmed by Robert II. in the second year of his reign. These feuds, as the language of the charter implies, would appear to have originated in the old Celtic feeling against titles and charters, and the new order of things. The Flemings and the Douglases were both of Flemish origin, and strangers to Galloway. The whole district was thus dealt with as a business affair; and when it is considered that the superiority over the lands was thus conveyed under royal authority, it is not to be wondered at that the "Galwegians wild as ocean gale," as described in 'Marmion,' had every reason to protest against such intruders. As for the "indigenous inhabitants," *alias* the aborigines, we question as to the then existence of any remnant. As a then distinct race, it was not possible. That they were principally absorbed by the Goidels, and afterwards such as remained by the Cymri, is to be believed. This subject we have already dealt with. Sir Archibald Douglas never assumed the title of Earl of Wigton. His designation after his elevation in rank in 1389 was Earl of Douglas, and Lord of Galloway. He had the *sobriquet* of "Archibald the Grim." He died at Threave Castle on the 3d February 1400-1. The history of his

family, from their origin to their fall, will be found under Threave, vol. iii., 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway.' Their rule over Galloway was oppressive, extending from 1369 to 1455, in all eighty-six years, during which short period several of them were in possession. On the 9th June 1455, James, Earl of Douglas, was condemned, and his possessions forfeited. The king then led an army into the district, and after a short siege he took the castle of Threave. On the 4th August of the same year the lordship of Galloway (including the earldom of Wigton) was annexed to the Crown. Subsequently the lordship of Galloway, with the castle of Threave, and the customs, &c., of the burghs of Kirkcudbright and Wigton, were conferred, with the assent of Parliament, on Margaret of Denmark, whom the king married in July 1469, as part of her dowry.

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In the Parliament held after the death of King James III., Hailes, Earl of Bothwell, was appointed Governor of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright and the Shire of Wigton, until James IV. should attain the age of twenty-one, on the 10th March 1493-4. At the battle of Sauchie, in 1488, Tytler states that "the first division (of the rebel army) was led by Lord Hailes and the Master of Hume, and composed of the hardy spearmen of East Lothian and the Merse. Lord Gray commanded the second line, formed of the *fierce Galwegians*, and the more disciplined and hardy Borderers of Liddesdale and Annandale, men trained from infancy to arms, and happy only in a state of war." Among the Galloway men on this occasion was Alexander M'Cul-

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loch of Myretoun, who was Master of the king's hawks, and a favourite at the Court of James IV., with an annual pension of £100 a-year. In after-times, during the minority of Queen Mary, the loyalty of Galloway was conspicuous.

We have mentioned the Flemings as Earls of Wigton, and the grasping of lands when an opportunity offered, was again shown about the Reformation time by Malcolm, third Lord Fleming, who was in favour at Court, and tried to get a resettlement in Galloway. In a charter, A.D. 1540, in connection with the marriage of his sister Margaret, he is called brother to Malcolm, the prior at Whithorn. How two brothers alive could bear the same Christian name has yet to be solved. We have seen the charter. It must have been miswritten.

RELIGION.

Religion from the earliest times had a great hold over Galloway. Relics of the Druids are still to be found, sometimes in the form of temples, cairns, and rocking-stones. Of these we gave the particulars under the different parishes, in 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway.' As stated by Armstrong, the Druids were priests or philosophers among the Celts (Cymri); but among the Goidels or Gaels, the name generally applied to a magician. As priests they exercised regal power, the kings having but the semblance of it, yet those Druids bore none of the burdens. They possessed all the learning of the times, and educated such as required it. They believed and taught the immortality of the soul. It is stated that when Columba arrived

at Iona (Ithoun, the Isle of Waves), they were not quite extinct. They retired to that island when their power was at an end. In Christian times it was about A.D. 397 (when Rome was relaxing her grip on Britain) that the celebrated Ninian was at Whithern to preach Christianity to the inhabitants of Valentia, which under Roman rule was so named, and comprised the Lowlands of Scotland and Northumberland. Octa has been mentioned as the successor of Ninian in his missionary and scholastic labours; but the Cymric (British) population appear to have been adverse to this missionary. As we have mentioned elsewhere, Ninian was of the Cymric race, and had travelled as far as Rome. Patrick, who went to Ireland, is now generally allowed to have been also of the Cymric race. He is stated in the 'Chronicum Scotorum' to have been born in A.D. 353, and his death to have occurred in 489. In a treatise by R. Steele Nicholson, M.A., of Ballow, County Down, and published in Belfast, it is urged as proved that St Patrick existed in Ireland in the third, and not in the fourth and fifth centuries. The period seems to have been more a matter of calculation than certainty. How dates have been worked out, as given in Dr Skene's 'Early Memorials of Scottish History,' is shown in the following: "Flann Mainistreach gives the date of this settlement (Irish-Scots in Argyllshire). Thus he says that forty-three years had elapsed from the coming of St Patrick to the battle of Ada, and twenty years from that battle to the arrival of the sons of Erc in Britain. Taking the date 432 as that of the coming of St Patrick, and adding

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Religion. sixty-three years, will give us the year 495 as the date of the colony. . . . Almost all the Chronicles agree that he (Fergus) reigned three years, and this gives the date of the colony 498." We will not follow the point further, and will only add that we are rather sceptical of the first statement—viz., that he was born in 353, and died in 489. Such a lengthened existence—136 years—is, we are inclined to think, on the same footing as some of his alleged miracles. He was, however, a Strathclyde Briton, *alias* one of the Cymric race. It is mentioned that his father was a deacon, and his grandfather a priest. Another statement is that his father was a *decurio* or councillor in a Roman provincial town on the banks of the Clyde. The son was therefore entitled to *patricius*, or patrician, or noble. It is believed that he converted Ireland from heathenism to Christianity; but this does not agree with what is found in the 'Tripartite History of St Patrick' (published by Colgan), that at a place called Dumhagraidh, in a cave, an altar was found by St Patrick, with four chalices (communion cups) of glass. In return for St Patrick going to Ireland, the latter country gave Colum-cille to Scotland. According to the Irish Annals, he was born in A.D. 520, and the record of his death is thus translated under A.D. 595. "Quies of Colum-cille on the night of Whitsunday, the fifth of the Ides of June, in the thirty-fifth year of his peregrination, and the seventy-seventh truly of his age." A note states that the date should be 597. In A.D. 563 there is recorded, "Voyage of Colum-cille to the island of Hi in the forty-second year of his age;" and under A.D. 574,

“Death of Conell, son of Comgall, King of Dalriada, who presented the island of Hi to Columcille.” The usual date given for the settlement of St Columba at Iona is 565: a difference of two years thus appears. The establishment was monastic; but the study of the Holy Scriptures, and the preaching of the Word as therein directed, was carried out. As rendered by Bede, “In 565 there came into Britain (Scotland) a famous priest and abbot, a monk by habit and life, whose name was Columb, to preach the Word of God to the provinces of the northern Picts, who are separated from the southern parts by steep and rugged mountains. . . . Columba came into Britain in the ninth year of the reign of Bridries, who was the son of Meilochan, and the powerful king of the Pictish nation, and he converted that nation to the faith of Christ by his preaching and example, whereupon he also received of them the aforesaid island for a monastery, for it was not very large, but above five miles in compass. His successors hold the island to this day: he was also buried therein, having died at the age of seventy-seven, and thirty-two years after he came into Britain to preach. Before he passed over into Britain he had built a noble monastery in Ireland, which from the great number of oaks, is in the Scottish (Irish) tongue called Dearthmach, the field of oaks.” This was Durrow, when he was thirty-two years of age. Seven years previously he founded the church of Derry. Father Innes states that Columbanus had been bred in the great monastery of Bangor in Ireland, governed by St Comgall, a monk of the

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monastery of St Gall; but as we will point out hereafter, they belonged to different tribes, or perhaps strictly clans, and became enemies. To give a further quotation from Bede, "Bishop Dagan and the Scots who inhabit Ireland, like the Britons, were not truly ecclesiastical, especially that they did not celebrate the solemnity of Easter at the due time, but thought that the day of the resurrection of our Lord was to be celebrated between the fourteenth and twentieth of the moon." Also, "The Scots who dwelt in the south of Ireland had long since, by the admonition of the bishop of the Apostolic See, learned to observe Easter according to the canonical custom." Again, as regards Iona, the "island has for its ruler an abbot, who is a priest, to whose directions all the province, and even the bishops, contrary to the usual method, are subject, according to the example of their first teacher, who was not a bishop, but a priest and monk. But whatsoever he was himself, this we know for certain, that he left successors renowned for their continency, their love of God, and observance of monastic rules." He also mentions that, "from the island Hii and college of monks was Aiden sent to instruct the English nation in Christ, having received the dignity of a bishop, when Segerius, abbot and priest, presided over the monastery."

Such are some of the accounts which are to be found about Colum - Cille, &c. Anglicised, the founder's name is Columba, and the actions of his early years, as given by Bede, &c., do not altogether agree with what we find from other sources.

As we have shown under our notice of the Irish-Scottish colonisation of Galloway, the original Kings of Ulster were from the Rudraighe and the Dalriatach tribes, who were driven out by the supreme King of Ireland, assisted by the Hy-Niall and kindred tribes, who finally obtained possession of Ulster. About A.D. 914, the Hy-Niall sept became known as O'Neill. To the Clanna-Conall branch, which in after-times obtained the name of O'Donnell, did Columba belong. His descent was good. When in Ireland he was constantly engaged in intrigue, which caused much bloodshed, and his clerical brethren in the Church were so much displeased with his actions, that a penance was passed on him, to avoid which he proceeded to Scotland with his companions. Even when there, at first he did not desist from his then love for intrigue. As belonging to a branch of the Hy-Niall sept, he was on their side, and used his influence to bring about the ruin of the ancient line of the Kings of Ulster, which, as we have described elsewhere, was in the end attended with success. His clerical animosity was specially marked against St Comgall of Bangor, who was of the race and the friend of the ancient Ulster line of kings. From the establishment at Iona preachers traversed the country in all directions, and Galloway had its share of their attention to the spiritual wants of the people. The connection with Galloway long continued to exist. The original monastery, constructed of wood, was spoiled and burned in A.D. 802, and several times afterwards by the Norsemen. The literary loss by these ravages is great, for many

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Religion. valuable records, Irish and Scottish, must have been destroyed. The ruins now existing are by many erroneously believed to be the same as raised by Columba. This saint having been an Irishman, and the people of Galloway countrymen of his, accounts for the extent of intercourse kept up long after the death of him and his followers between the monks and the Galwegians, as well as the lands which the monastery had become possessed of in the district. The monks disowned the Pope as a ruler. They were of the Claniacenses Order, who followed the rule of St Benet. Great changes, however, were introduced by King David I., when he supplanted all by the Anglo-Saxon branch of the Church of Rome. A nunnery was attached, which followed the rule of St Augustine. This saint, who arrived in England at the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century, as a disciple of Pope Gregory I., called the Great, is generally understood to have introduced the Church of Rome into England. What we have given from Bede proves the reverse, and research further shows that the Church in England was in connection with Rome from the earliest times, as we have already mentioned. Besides, it is clearly shown that the decrees of the Council of Arles, A.D. 314, at which the British bishops were present as members, were sent to the Pope at Rome as the head of the Church. Pearson states: "The early history of Rome is not more pregnant with mystery and fable than are the antiquities of the British Church."

The silence of contemporary history reduces the

inquiry to the level of conjecture; and while a school is still found to believe in a primitive Church of pure doctrine and apostolic ancestry, more than one experienced antiquary denies that there was any Church at all.—(Wright's 'Celt, Roman, and Saxon,' quoted approvingly by Mr Merivale, 'Quart. Rev.,' vol. cvii.) There is a statement that the Apostle Paul or Joseph of Arimathea founded the British Church, which is wanting in truth. As Pearson states, the early British Church was throughout a missionary establishment, but neither enlightened nor pure in doctrine. The delegates to all appearance "consented to the Arian apostasy at Rimini." Distance, no doubt, created differences, for Easter was not kept on the same day. As given in 'Brand's Antiquities,' the pagan festivals were duly observed, as the Saturnalia or advent of the sun at Christmas, present-giving on New-Year's Day, May-day in connection with the flowers, and All-Hallow's Eve with the fruits of the season—the two last being old festivals of Flora and Pomona. Or, as Pearson states, Christmas, Easter, May-day, and the Eve of St John preserved for many centuries the tradition of pagan observances under Christian names." Father Innes has it that the faith began to be preached in the Roman part of Britain even in the apostles' time, about A.D. 71. We have already dealt with this, which is taken particularly from the authority of Eusebius, whose writings, as one of the ancient Fathers, are cherished by the members of some Churches; but as he did not live in the time of the apostles, having been born about A.D. 270, when the Church was corrupt,

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what he wrote cannot be received as authority without confirmation, which is wanting. Bede states that, "In the year of our Lord's incarnation 156, Marcus Antoninus Verus, the fourteenth from Augustus, was made Emperor, together with his brother Aurelius Commodus. In their time, whilst Eleutherus, a holy man, presided over the Roman Church, Lucius, King of the Britons, sent a letter to him, entreating that, by his command, he might be made a Christian. He soon obtained the object of his pious request, and the Britons preserved the faith which they had received," &c. During the reign of Diocletian, at the end of the third century, there was a fierce persecution carried on against the Christians for ten years, which extended to Britain, and many were slain. It may have been from this cause that irregularities crept into the British Church in regard to the proper day for keeping Easter, &c., as found by St Augustine when he arrived as the delegate of Pope Gregory. At this time the principal monastery, as mentioned, was called in the English tongue Bancornaburg. The Rev. Dr Lingard, in his 'History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church,' mentions: "It has been maintained with great parade of quotation, and equal confidence of assertion, that at a very early period a Christian Church was established by one of the apostles in Britain. But this opinion, most improbable of itself, is totally unsupported by proof, and rests on no other ground than the forced and fanciful interpretation of a few ambiguous passages in ancient writers." Again: "It was about the year 43 that the Roman power obtained

a permanent footing in Britain. From some of these, already proselytes to the new faith, it is probable that the Christian doctrines were silently disseminated among the natives." This has for long been our opinion, and the further the subject is gone into, the more it is confirmed. St Ninian, as already mentioned, was the first churchman of note in Scotland who, although a native of Galloway, and of the Cymric race, was educated at Rome. He died in A.D. 432. St Patrick, a brief account of whom we have already given, is understood to have visited Gaul and Italy before his mission to Ireland. The Rev. P. J. Carew of Maynooth states that: "In a part of the country, in a place whither Palladius or his associates had not penetrated, the sacred vessels of the altar were discovered almost immediately after St Patrick had commenced his apostolic labours." According to Prospero's (died about 463) narrative, "Palladius was the first bishop . . . to whom the care of the Irish mission was confided. . . . He received episcopal consecration from Pope Celestine." The latter was Pope from A.D. 422 to 432. We have already given an extract from the 'Tripartite History of St Patrick,' in which is related a somewhat similar narrative to what we have given as mentioned by the Rev. P. J. Carew, and we are inclined to believe that they refer to the same articles. The Rev. Dr Lanigan also mentions that St Patrick had been to Rome. Walcott, in his 'Scoti Monasticon'—the ancient Church of Scotland—published in 1874, states: "The Church of St Columba, dating from the middle of the sixth

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Religion. century, which derived its teaching from St Patrick, and occupied the country of the northern Picts and Scots, was wholly a monastic Church. Priests, deacons, singers, readers, every ecclesiastical order, including the bishop himself, observed the monastic rule." We give the foregoing to show what has been written on the subject. The said Church did not acknowledge the Pope; but in all other respects the doctrine was the same, and Scriptural simplicity did not exist: rituals, with monkish establishments, had usurped its place. As believed, parishes were first instituted in the reign of King Malcolm III., who died in A.D. 1093. The ruin of the Irish-Scottish Church was commenced by Margaret, his queen. She was sister of Edgar Ætheling, the heir of the Saxon line of kings. She may be called a saint, but also must be classed as an interfering woman. She is stated to have been well acquainted with the Holy Scriptures, but at the same time she was well versed in the ways of the Church of Rome. She arrogated to herself the position of holding conferences with the Gaelic clergy. The subject assumed was the right season for keeping Lent; but Turgot, her confessor, who doubtless was the instigator, had a larger object in view. King Malcolm, her husband, it is related, acted as interpreter, knowing both Gaelic and the language spoken at the Court in England. Malcolm is called of the Big Head, but evidently he did not use it for the benefit of his countrymen. Queen Margaret and her confessor prevailed, and the Gaelic clergy, through royal authority, for it could not have been by argument, were defeated. There must have been

something wanting in them to submit so quietly. *Religion.*
Through Queen Margaret the Church of Rome met with success in the eastern parts of Scotland, and her son David finished it in the other parts when he became king. The after-troubles of Scotland, and much of the misery to which the natives were subjected, may be laid to his charge in introducing so many Anglo-Norman and other adherents from England, to support and carry out his acquired Anglo-Saxon views, in establishing from England the Roman Church *versus* the Iona establishment, which had flourished for over five centuries. The clergy being Gaelic-speaking Celts, were in harmony with the Celtic population. This interfered with King David's desire to colonise the country with Anglo-Normans and other adventurers, who were more in sympathy with his English schooling. The Church of Iona was therefore doomed, and soon was at an end. Even its religious books disappeared.

The monks of Iona, with the ruin of their Church, lost their lands in Galloway, and had either to go to Ireland or become converts. It is impossible now to trace all the lands in the district held by that Church, but what has been learned will be found in the separate parish histories in 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway.' Every parish in Galloway has its tale of the power of the Church in the district, and it is therefore necessary to enter into ecclesiastical history. We have mentioned that the monks, &c., of Iona had either to go to Ireland or become converts, and we may therefore relate that the Church there also underwent a revo-

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lution in A.D. 1148-52, when the clergy solicited and obtained the headship of the Pope. This was also the result of Anglo-Norman colonisation, which ended in Ireland being fully conquered by England in A.D. 1172, and so remaining ever since. Galloway, from the time of King David I. and Fergus, first lord, was truly priest-ridden. Previously there were some Celtic ecclesiastical buildings, notably St Martin's at Whithorn, and some small chapels, one of which, Cruggleton, although in ruins, still stands in part; but with the introduction of the Anglo-Saxon or Norman branch of the Church of Rome, abbeys, priories, churches, and chapels were erected everywhere, until the district became studded with them. The Church ruled. In addition to their clerical duties, the clergy became the best agriculturists of the time, and were also found as commercial men of much note. The profession of arms, or, at all events, the assuming the command of armies, was another characteristic. As truly said by Mackenzie in his 'History of Galloway,' "The clergy were the great depositories of learning, without being very profound, but, with few exceptions, they could read and write. Latin was understood by most of them. Among the monks and secular clergy were some of the most skilful mechanics." In fact, Churchmen, or rather the clergy, did everything; and, believed to possess the keys of entrance into the next world, brave as well as weak men trembled under the rebuke of the Church. This power was made use of to good purpose, for, prior to the Reformation, the Church of Rome held one-third of the land, with the best soil in Scotland.

In charters granted by the Church, men were given titles long before they were granted by the Crown, thus proving that the latter was dictated to. Lands were also sometimes foolishly lost by their owners placing them under the care of the Church, or in feudal times withdrawing them from feudal tenure to be placed under its care. It was sometimes done to avoid burdens and services. Sometimes to ensure (?) their descent to posterity. In Crown holdings, which were forfeited for mere trifles, often to please avaricious favourites, there was some excuse in trusting to the Church. But in all cases it was a most dangerous security; for if the lands were near an ecclesiastical establishment, or anywhere, and worth possessing, the Church generally took care to save heirs the trouble of ownership, by obtaining possession through charters which the ecclesiastics of these times had little difficulty in getting. The following appears in a footnote, 'Book of Deir,' Preface, p. viii.: "The forged charters, which are of such frequent occurrence among the records of religious houses, seem to have been in many cases attempts to give a legal form to grants which had originally been made by unwritten symbolical gift, and in others to replace written grants which had been lost." This is a very charitable way of dealing with the rapacity shown in obtaining lands, for the power exercised over the minds of men in regard to their future state was the means of getting unwritten symbolical gifts of lands. In many instances were the gifts ever made? In the great repository for ancient charters, &c., in London, we were told of the clever

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way in which seals were in these times transferred from one charter to another. A genuine charter being possessed for lands of not much value, or the ownership indisputable, and an opening occurring for obtaining others of large extent and value, a forged charter was written out with the usual tag for the seal, to which a proper quantity of wax was put on. Then, with (as is supposed) a heated knife, the genuine seal was divided horizontally, and lifted on to the wax on the tag of the forged charter, which was ready for its reception, and the sides carefully smoothed round to prevent suspicion and detection. A passage in Dr Hill Burton's 'History of Scotland' is so much to the point on this subject that we will give it. "Among those who, like Prynne, think there is nothing so ravishing as records, there is sometimes an inclination to place absolute reliance on the import of genuine charters. Yet we shall have to meet many instances in which they tell false tales. Whoever had a claim which was disputed had an interest in having it properly recorded. Claims which were repudiated yet found their way to the records. Sometimes exemption from a claim or an obligation is recorded, when the real difficulty was that it could not be enforced. Every magnate having pretensions to sovereignty kept some cunning clerk in his 'Chapel of Chancery,' ever preparing documents, which were aptly termed *munimenta*, or fortresses round their master's prerogatives and powers. The Churchmen thus gifted did not neglect themselves; the ecclesiastical chartularies, or collection of title deeds, are the most perfect in existence."

The collapse of the Church of Rome in Scotland need not be entered on here; but as the registers of lands and family histories were kept in the monasteries, a vast and serious blank is occasioned by their loss. We are told that many of the records were removed abroad, and a vast quantity wantonly destroyed, being made use of for all sorts of purposes, household and otherwise. Bale, bishop of Ossory, writes the following on the uses made of convent libraries at the Reformation: "I know a merchantman (who at this time shall be nameless) that bought the contents of two noble libraries for forty shillings price—a shame, be it spoken. This stuff hath he occupied in the stead of grey paper by the space of more than these ten years, and yet has store enough for as many years to come." It is unnecessary to mention what grey paper means. The total loss, in whichever way it happened, of the chartularies, but above all of the records and registers of the six abbeys and the three priories, which flourished in Galloway in the twelfth and subsequent centuries, has thrown a darkness over the early history of the district that does not extend to the same extent to any other part of Scotland. There were the Chartulary and Black Books kept in the religious houses. The first contained a record of the charters, donations, and rights; and the other the annals of the country. The destruction has been attributed to the Reformers, and truly so to a considerable extent, but erroneously as to those who so acted. The words ascribed to John Knox, "of burning the nests in order to hinder the rooks coming back,"

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are rather to be understood as coming from highly interested individuals who took advantage of the Reformation for their own sordid purposes. The demolition or ruinous state of the abbeys and other religious houses has been charged to the wrong source, and we were glad that the Marquis of Bute refuted this fallacy in his speech at the Archæological gathering held at Glasgow in 1888. We have for long known it to be one of those popular mistakes, but coming from him gave it force. By Cromwell's army great injury was done to such edifices as were within reach when he was in Scotland, but the largest share of ruin has been the result of culpable neglect with the effect of time. Those who should have had them looked after, not only left that undone, but placed no hindrance in the pulling down for local purposes. In fact, ancient religious buildings and castles on estates have been used as quarries—country-houses and villages, farm-houses and dykes, &c., having been built with the materials; and as we know of some, we are inclined to believe that many others with inscriptions and armorial bearings have been lost by being built into the new structures. This practice was in force until recent times, and therefore known to us.

It is related that the M'Doualls of Garthland, the M'Cullochs of Myretoun, the M'Kies of Larg, and the M'Clellands of Bomby, claimed the privilege of carrying the Host in religious processions, as being descended from the indigenous nobility of the province. The source of this statement is not known, and of little consequence, as the word

“indigenous,” meaning “originally of the country,” *The Reformation.* proves its fabrication, as will be found under their separate histories in ‘Lands and their Owners in Galloway,’ none of them having any claim to be so considered. The carrying of the Host, if they did so, must have arisen from some other cause. The first of the M’Cullochs and M’Clellands found by us were connected with the Church in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and neither of them traced as originally belonging to Galloway. The M’Doualls or M’Dougalls were from Argyllshire, and the M’Kies only known from the fourteenth century.

After the fall of the Church of Rome, came another class of land graspers, even worse and more unscrupulous—viz., Court favourites, and others with Court influence—who shared largely in the seizure of lands which belonged, were supposed to belong as the superiors, or had been wrested by fraudulent charters, or in other ways, by the Church from the rightful owners. Under the authority of the Crown, the administrators of religious houses had estates confiscated in the most arrogant manner, and during, or after, a mock inquiry, generally managed to secure what was desired to themselves. These administrators to the abbeys and priories were specially careful of their own interests, and the loss of all previous records in regard to the lands must be viewed with grave suspicion. In fact, it is beyond doubt that they acted dishonourably. We are satisfied that it was so in Galloway. Neither the true Reformers nor the monks are to be blamed for the removal or

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destruction of the records. It has been stated that the monks conveyed the valuable portion to the Continent; but after much research we fully believe that the interested individuals already mentioned destroyed most of them. It is known that after the Act of Annexation of 1587, the holders of Church lands (in many instances incorrectly so classed) were borrowing money to pay fines, or to bribe the commissioners. It was a period of history far from creditable.

We now come to another serious loss—the disappearance of fifty volumes of charter books, for periods between 1424 and the 8th March 1628. What became of them cannot be ascertained, but that they were lost, destroyed, or made away with seems certain. Some have been since found in private hands, but they are few in number. In addition to the charters, sixty-five volumes of registers of General Sasines between 1617 and 1649 inclusive, with thirty-eight volumes of Particular Sasines from July 1617 to July 1650, are stated to have been shipped for London in the time of Cromwell, and lost in Yarmouth Roads. The ship in which it is supposed they were shipped was no doubt wrecked there. There is, however, a strong belief among those who inquire closely into such subjects that the sasines as well as the charters now missing were unfairly dealt with. The dissolution of the monasteries, &c., and the appropriation of the lands without any legal or formal rights by those already mentioned, who pretended to support the Reformation, but more for selfish purposes than religious, occurred within the period

to which these records pertain, and all the rights and wrongs of each case were conveniently, and in many cases for the new owners fortunately, hidden. We refer specially to Galloway, but in other districts in Scotland similar acts were perpetrated. The subject was brought under the notice of Cromwell's Council by Alderman Titchborne.

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The Reformation, as regards religion, has been an inestimable blessing to Scotland. John Knox became connected with Galloway in March 1554, from his second wife being Margaret, youngest daughter of Andrew, third Lord Ochiltree (see 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway, vol. ii. p. 86), and again from the Rev. John Welsh, minister of Kirkeudbright parish, having married Elizabeth Knox, the daughter of the Reformer. The difficulties he had to contend with were many. There is an idea that he drew up a liturgy; but it was only a temporary guide for the use of the many renegade priests, &c., who, accustomed to a set form of worship, required to be assisted. His so-called liturgy was nothing more than the 'Book of Common Order' first used by the English Church at Geneva. His book contains forms of prayers for the different parts of public worship, which is the only resemblance it bears to a liturgy. There is also this wide difference, that the minister is not restricted to the exact words printed, but he is left at liberty to vary from them, and substitute prayers of his own. The directions are, "or lyke in effect," and at the conclusion of the service, "or such lyke." The book was merely intended as a

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help to those unable to act without a book, and not as a restraint on those who could do so. This arose from the want of properly qualified clergymen. In John Knox's own words: "To the kirkis quhair no ministers can be haid presentlie must be appointed the most apt men that distinctlie can read the Commoune Prayeris, and the Scripturis, to exercise bayth thameselfis and the kirk till thai growe to greattar perfectioun," &c. So great was the dearth of properly qualified clergymen, that pious men, who had received a common education, were appointed as readers and exhorters, to whom the Book of Prayers was necessary; but even they were encouraged to act without the book. Another temporary expedient was the appointment of superintendents, whose election is mentioned as follows: "In this present necessitie, the nomination, examination, and admission of superintendents cannot be so straight as we require, and as afterwards it must be." All these measures were only provisional, until the Church could be established on the basis which Knox desired. It is evident that he was not in favour of a liturgy. No doubt he knew that Basil's is the earliest, and that it can only be traced with some degree of certainty to the fourth century, but with no proof of the existence of any other earlier than the fifth century. Another point of difference was the threefold ministry of bishop, priest, and deacon. Archbishop Cranmer, in his 'Institution of a Christian Man,' published in 1537, and subscribed by two archbishops, nineteen bishops, and the whole Lower House of Convocation, makes the declara-

tion that in the New Testament there is no mention made of any degrees or distinctions in orders, but only of deacons or ministers, and of priests or bishops. Elders, presbyters, and bishops being acknowledged to be one and the same as ministers, and the deacons in charge of the temporal affairs, gave rise afterwards to the fierce contention as regards Prelacy, in which Galloway took a prominent part. It is to be learned by research that the Church of the first century, founded by the apostles, had only two orders—presbyter-bishops and deacons. In congregations chiefly of Hebrew origin they were called elders or presbyters, and in those of Greek origin, bishops or overseers. Presbyter and episcopos (elder and bishop) are admitted by several Church of England authorities to have been at first one and the same. The writings of "the ancient Fathers," so styled, have had much to do with those vexed questions. We have gone over them, and will briefly state that Clement (the companion of the Apostle Paul) does not mention prelates, but only bishops as ministers, and deacons in charge of the temporal affairs. We next have Polycarp, a disciple and friend of the Apostle John. He also only mentions presbyters (elders or ministers) and deacons. Then comes Ignatius, a contemporary and disciple of the apostles. His reputed writings have been the basis for the three orders of prelate, priest, and deacon; but most of what has been given as his are now found to be forgeries. Of fifteen epistles the first eight are now condemned as spurious, and the remaining seven were considered by critics to be questionable and doubtful. Within the last

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three years they have also been condemned. The next of the ancient Fathers was Justin Martyr; but as he was born about A.D. 114, and therefore subsequent to the time of the apostles, he and those after him appeared when the Church was in a corrupt state, which had commenced even in the days of the apostles. An idea of the value of the ancient Fathers may be gathered from the mention of the first (abbreviated by us) in 'Christian Antiquities,' written by the Rev. J. E. Riddle, M.A., of St Edmund Hall, Oxford. "Clement, styled Bishop of Rome. Neither the day of his appointment to the superintendence of the Church nor the time of his death can be exactly ascertained; but it is probable that he succeeded two other bishops, Linus and Anacletus, at the latter end of the first century, perhaps about A.D. 91 or 92, and died about the year 100. The epistle to the Corinthians was probably written by him about the year 96, in the name of the Church of Rome to the Church of Corinth. He was not aware of a distinction between bishops and presbyters, terms which, in fact, he uses as synonymous. It has been disfigured by interpolations in later times, and various passages are supposed to have been transferred from the writings of Clement of Alexandria (who died about A.D. 218). It is quite possible that some of these may have arisen from Clement himself. Among them we may reckon various misapplications of Scripture, and an allusion to the fabulous story of the phoenix and its restoration, in proof of the possibility of the future resurrection of the dead." This account

was written before the investigation as to the authenticity of "the ancient Fathers'" writings was made. With the first of the ancient Fathers we certainly would expect to find indisputable evidence, but it is otherwise. We may add, from all that can be gathered, that a Church, in the full meaning of the word as now understood, existed in Rome in the year 96 has as much truth in it as that it can be shown in Scripture that the Apostle Peter was the first Pope or even bishop there, or that any modern Church is the sole representative of the one presided over by the Apostle James at Jerusalem. The Apostle Paul's cathedral at Rome could have been no more than a hut, used as his abode and prison. The tradition that the Apostle Peter was crucified at Rome head downwards, and his remains deposited where St Peter's Cathedral now stands, may or may not be true. There is no proof either one way or the other.

Church history, as we have mentioned elsewhere, has much to do with Galloway. We have stated that King David I. followed his mother, Queen Margaret, in introducing the Church of Rome into Scotland. In after-times King James VI. tried to introduce the Reformed Church of England service, in which he was followed by Kings Charles I. and II. The object was to undo what John Knox and his supporters and successors had established. To resist this, the Covenant was subscribed, many doing so with their blood. Galloway stood prominent at this unhappy period. The Western rebellion, as the rising was called, which Dalzell defeated at Rullion Green, Pentland Hills, originated at the

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Clachan of Dalry, Kirkcudbrightshire, in A.D. 1666. With their Celtic blood the people entered warmly into the spirit of the times, and in consequence many of them suffered severely. When it could be done, they were hunted and shot down in a way not tending to conciliation. It must be admitted that, if guilty of retributive sanguinary acts at times, it was the cruel persecution that caused it. They were loyal to the throne, and it is incorrect to state that they betrayed Charles I. and delivered him over to Cromwell. King Charles they were compelled to look on as their enemy in religious matters, but they protested against the proceedings of the Commonwealth in England in regard to his treatment, and when, their protests disregarded, he was executed, they declared for his son, and were ready to take up arms in his support. He was declared king by them in Scotland; a deputation proceeded to Holland to wait upon him; the only condition was that he should uphold the Presbyterian Church in Scotland. His Church ideas, however, were not to be overcome, and the mission failed. Afterwards, seeing that his only hope of restoration was in Scotland, he promised to uphold their Church. He arrived in Scotland on the 16th June 1650. The habits of the king, coupled with the discipline of the Presbyterian Church, soon made him detest their religion, and to it he threw off his allegiance. His gratitude to Scotland was all forgotten, and under the guidance of scheming churchmen and Court favourites the persecution commenced, and was carried to excess. That Charles also deceived the Church of England,

which he professed to uphold, is believed; for if what has been stated is correct, he died a Roman Catholic, and was attended in his last moments by a Jesuit priest, who came from Paris, and is understood to have been one of his numerous natural sons, who have added so largely to the peerage, from very questionable maternal ancestors. His reign was a black one for Galloway. The district had passed through much trouble in previous centuries; but, as truly mentioned by Chalmers in his 'Caledonia,' to such a state of wretchedness was Galloway reduced by the successive misfortunes (which we have mentioned, culminating with the persecution), that farms which in 1825 were let for £200 yearly were offered at the close of the seventeenth century rent free, merely on condition of paying the public burdens. Some estates were sold for two years' purchase. The English poet Wordsworth thus writes:—

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“ When Alpine vales threw forth a suppliant cry,
 The majesty of England interposed,
 And the sword stopped, the bleeding wounds were closed,
 And faith preserved her ancient purity.
 How little boots that precedent of good,
 Scorned or forgotten, thou canst testify,
 For England's shame, O sister realm! From wood,
 Mountain, and moor, and crowded street, where lie
 The headless martyrs of the Covenant,
 Slain by compatriot Protestants that draw
 From councils, senseless as intolerant,
 Their warrant. Bodies fall by wild sword law;
 But who would force the soul, tilts with a straw
 Against a champion cased in adamant.”

All the misery and ruin to so many was per-

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petrated that the Church of England should also be established in Scotland. The same mistaken policy was exercised in Ireland, when the same Church and its service was tried to be forced on the Irish people, who were not even Protestants as a nation. An archbishop was appointed to the See of Dublin in 1535, and King Henry VIII. tried to assert his supremacy in 1537, which naturally was opposed by the Roman Catholics. The Bible and the Church Service in English were introduced in 1551, with no attempt to have them in Irish, excepting (afterwards) a portion of the liturgy. Equally absurd was the edict that spiritual promotions were only to be granted to such as could speak English, thus reversing what should have been done. The erroneous, if not presumptuous, idea prevailed that the Church of England service was so attractive that the native Irish would forget their own language, and forsake the Church of Rome. The consequence was that the Protestant clergy and their Church were looked upon as foreign, and repudiated, which continues to this day. Nothing has done more to keep Ireland in turmoil than the course adopted in trying to force another Church on the people. Any interference with the religion of a nation has always proved to be dangerous policy. We have already referred to this subject; for the clergy of all denominations have the power, and have always exercised it when it suits them, of stirring up the passions of the people. From the earliest times within the range of history, Galloway was essentially an ecclesiastical district. The first preachers of the Gospel in Great Britain

and Ireland were in connection with the Church of Rome, as we have shown elsewhere. Ninian, a native, as already mentioned, established himself at Whithorn in the fourth century, and was in close connection with St Martin of Tours, who is stated to have first introduced monastic establishments. A short notice of this saint has been given in the Supplement Account to Wigtonshire, 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway.'

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We must touch on another point before ending this subject, which specially applies to Galloway as it was. We refer to the idea entertained by many that the Covenanters were Cameronians. This is a mistake. The first of the Covenanters in Galloway was in 1638, after signing the National Covenant, and in 1639 the War Committee commenced to levy an army over the whole kingdom. The next rising was caused through the exasperating conduct of some soldiers at Dalry on the 13th November 1666, to which we have already referred. Richard Cameron, from whom the Cameronians got their name, belonged to Fifeshire, and was at one time an Episcopalian. His licence to preach the Gospel as a member of the Church of Scotland was conferred on him in Haughhead House, Roxburghshire. He at once became a strong upholder of the spiritual independence of the Church, and having had differences with those of the moderate party, he proceeded to Holland, and was there ordained. In 1680 he returned to Scotland, and on the 20th June of that year, at Sanquhar, he and his brother, with about twenty

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M' Millan.*

others, publicly renounced their allegiance to Charles II. From thence they were tracked to Airdmoss, surprised, and defeated on the 20th July. Cameron was slain. Of his brother we have no particulars. All this happened in a few months. He and his brother had no connection with Galloway. He had in a measure withdrawn from the Church of Scotland. The Church did not repudiate royalty, but only would not acknowledge the king as its head in spiritual matters. The Test Oath, forced on and refused by the people (even by some Episcopalians), was a great mistake, as it virtually was to make them abjure their religion, which is always a dangerous proceeding in any country.

About the beginning of the eighteenth century, another ecclesiastical disturbance in Galloway attracted attention, arising from the Rev. John M'Millan, the clergyman in charge of Balmaghie Parish, disobeying the laws of the Church. He was deposed, but he would not retire in favour of his appointed successor, the Rev. William M'Kie. His adherents on some occasions appeared armed, and so weak were the authorities, that for about fifteen years Mr M'Millan kept possession of the parish in defiance of those in power. He at last voluntarily gave it up, and left. His followers were called the M'Millanites, but their principles were the same as those of the Cameronians; and after leaving his parish, and becoming a wandering preacher, he and those who adhered to him became Cameronians. They were afterwards known as the Reformed Presbyterians.

In regard to the possession of lands in Galloway, the superiority was in very many, in fact in most, cases, quite distinct from actual ownership. The first was generally held by the Crown, the Church, and sometimes by newly exalted individuals, such as the Lords of Galloway. This caused, in the many periods of turmoil with which the district was visited, trouble to not a few of the most ancient families, who did not happen to be hangers on or favourites at Court, or had not a member as one of the clergy in the Church of Rome. In later times it is startling to read the number of charters granted to one or two families in the seventeenth century, of land in nearly every parish, but which was really nothing more than the paper on which written, as the estates were actually in the possession of the real owners. The Gordons of Kenmure, and the Maxwells, both of foreign origin, figure conspicuously in this way. Under such circumstances, the task of following the real owners is now most difficult. It is to be found throughout Galloway history from the time that charters first appear. A Church or Court favourite would obtain a charter of lands which he or his descendants might never obtain possession of. Dr Hill Burton gives somewhat similar information in his 'History of Scotland.' He writes: "With the Celts, who loved the patriarchal system, and did not take kindly to the feudal, the process lasted down to the Revolution. Some of the proud chiefs would not hold by royal charter, or 'the sheepskin title' as they called it. The fief would then be forfeited, and transferred gen-

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erally to some aggrandising house. Even in such hands the sheepskin title might not at once be available, but it would be put by, and when the right time came, it gave the legitimate influence of the law to the necessary coercion." It was the same with the Church, when priests and abbots cast an envious eye on a good tract of land, as we have already mentioned. When only power was desired and not possession, they obtained the superiority, which in most cases brought trouble to the real owners sooner or later, especially at the time of the Reformation. In 'Scotland as it was and now is,' at p. 99, a different view is taken. The author belongs to one of the fortunate families, and what he writes confirms in some degree what we have given in regard to the origin of his family. The following extract will show what we refer to:

"Never perhaps has there been a more honourable origin for the tenure of land than that which was consecrated afresh by the charters of the fourteenth and following centuries in the hands of those chiefs in Scotland who had then already won, and had already held them for many generations. In some cases the same lands are to this day owned by lineal descendants of the men who fought with Bruce. In others, derivative tenures, coming from those charters as their legal source, have been the subject of inheritance, of exchange, and of sale during the course of 500 years. It was they who introduced the Anglo-Saxon culture, and endowed the Latin clergy, and brought in the Roman law," &c. Again, at p. 117: "The Anglo-Saxon and the Scoto-Norman earls and

chiefs and knights imbibed the spirit of their age." And again, at p. 140: "Those happier developments of feudalism under Anglo-Saxon and Scoto-Roman law." Lastly, at p. 199: "Powerful chiefs of Norman name and Norman blood had penetrated into the remotest districts." The foregoing extracts are laudatory of the Anglo-Normans, Flemings, and various other foreigners having been granted lands in all parts of Scotland, and who with their Church, that of Rome, became the rulers of Scotland, causing the Succession Wars, and the constant turmoil for centuries. The author has forgotten to look at the other side. Was it right that the Celtic owners should be cast adrift for foreign adventurers, through the English training of King David I., and his and his mother's preference for the Church of Rome? Was it necessary for him to use his power as king in treating Scotland as William the Conqueror treated England when he conquered it, and established his mercenary followers as owners of the soil in all parts of England? Foreigners could have been received and preferment given to such of them when found to merit it; but that the bribe of lands to be wrested from the Celtic owners should have been held out as a lure, and thus bring in a horde of adventurers, was far from honourable, and that it should now meet with approval in the nineteenth century from one who claims to be patriotic is strange, only that we live in strange times.

In all parts of Scotland the foreign element was introduced, and felt more or less, but with this difference, that the Celtic inhabitants in the High-

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lands assumed the name of those placed over them, by being put in possession of the lands where they were located. This was peculiar to the Highlands, whether of Celtic or foreign origin, the name of the owner of the soil, old or new, being assumed. That all those of Celtic blood bearing the same name were of the same tribe originally is not so, but they became as one. Galloway likewise had a Gaelic population; but, as in Ireland, from whence they came, they principally got individual surnames by degrees, after such were introduced about the twelfth century. Many of the old landlord surnames in Galloway are borne by the inhabitants. While some may have been assumed, others are no doubt from branches of one and the same family at some period or other, although from the destruction of the records and Bibles during the persecution in the seventeenth century, in which latter a record of births, &c., were often kept by families, all trace of descent has been lost. It may be remarked that most of the ancient names in Galloway are peculiar to the district, and are only to be found in Ireland. The old system of younger sons getting farms to till as kindly tenants, and their descendants increasing in number, and still continuing as agriculturists, or in other occupations in the district, fully accounts for those of the same name being found amongst all grades. We must also refer to illegitimacy, which in the district is not small in repute as to number; and the father's name is often taken. The Anglo-Normans and other foreigners who crowded into the district left descendants who may now be said to represent the

ownership of the soil. With an exception here and there, the Celtic owners have disappeared. It is necessary, however, to state that the leading foreign families who rose to much power in the eleventh and twelfth centuries also disappeared after a short existence. Those families were possessed of surnames before settlement, thus showing that they were of good origin; whereas the many who followed from the thirteenth century downwards, and whose descendants continue to be landowners, with one or two exceptions, can only be traced from the time they obtained a footing. In other parts of Scotland many of them obtained their surnames from the lands of which they got grants.

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of Land.*

It has been for a considerable time the practice for families to try and trace their descent from Norman ancestors who were at the conquest of England with William the Conqueror, assuming that thereby they are of superior blood from that period at least. This is a fallacy: it is now becoming better known that the mass of the invading army was composed of the scum of France's adventurers, and, as mentioned by Thierry, were only known by the names of the towns or the districts from whence they came, as St Quentin, St Maur, Gascoine, &c. The majority did not even obtain such names, and had none until they were placed in possession of lands taken from some previous proprietor. From the lands so obtained the most of the new settlers, called Normans (which in most cases is incorrect), obtained their surnames.

ANGLO-
NORMAN
LINEAGE.

*Anglo-Norman
Lineage.*

We have heard and read a good deal about "The Baronage," but the feudal system was only gradually introduced for the benefit of the so-called Anglo-Normans, as thought by some commencing about the end of the eleventh century, but, with a few exceptions, we think more correctly in the twelfth century. Instead of Galloway having been a Celtic district, one would suppose from the free use of the word "Baronage" that the said Anglo-Normans, &c., had always been the possessors, and not the successors to the Celtic proprietors. The esteem entertained by some in England for these fresh intruders is to be learned from writings on the subject. From among a collection of miscellaneous papers, printed for J. Peele, London, in 1747, we give the following extract: "William the Norman, improperly called Conqueror, invaded England at the Head of Forces mixed and collected from many Countries, most of them needy Adventurers, allured by Promises of Plunder and Settlements in this Kingdom, which when subdued, was to be turned into spoil, and parted amongst the Spoilers, with proper Preference and Allotment to the principal Spoiler. He seized a great number of Estates with as little ceremony as Mercy. When by this, and every furious Oppression he had made the Miserable Nation stark mad, his next step was to punish them for being so. He therefore, besides infinite Vengeance, Corporal and Capital, at once seized into his own Hands all Baronies, and all Fiefs of the Crown. Thus he reduced all the Nobility and Landholders in England to Nakedness and want of Bread. Their misery, which

seemed complete, had yet a heavy Aggravation. Their estates were granted to Favourites and Champions of the Usurper, desperate adventurers, and the needy Hunters of Fortune. These Upstarts and Spoilers were incredibly exalted. Some of them rioted in the Revenues of whole Counties; many of them counted their manors by Hundreds. Others were made Lords of Cities, others Proprietors of Great Towns; the rest commanded strong Forts and Castles, now purposely built to insure the everlasting Bondage of the wretched English. All these lofty Upstarts had it now in their Option, to starve, or to feed the genuine Lords and Owners; I mean such of them as the Cruel Mercy of the Invader had left to live bereft of Dignity and Bread. When William had, as it were, extinguished the English Nobility and Landholders, he extended his Savage Scheme to the English Clergy, despising their Privileges, trampling upon their Charters, and subjecting them to what burdens he pleased, and put Normans in their room. Some he banished, others he imprisoned, and supplied all the vacancies with strangers, Creatures of his Own, or of the Pope. Such was the return to the English Clergy for their early submission to him, and their Treachery to their Country."

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Lineage.*

Without being at all guided by the foregoing extract, every point we have advanced is more or less in unison with it, and arrived at by independent research. His reference to the treachery of the Church is a matter of history, and a good specimen of what the Church became in Scotland

Anglo-Norman Lineage.
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after the same body, recruited with foreigners, was introduced into North Britain under the auspices of King David, supported by his Anglo-Norman, &c., adherents. Mackenzie, in his 'History of Northumberland,' mentions how profuse the Conqueror was in his gifts, and that to one of his bishops he gave two hundred and eighty manors. "Thus strangers," says a Norman ecclesiastic, "were enriched by the wealth of England, whose [inhabitants] for them were nefariously killed or driven out to wander wretched exiles abroad" (Ord. Vit., 521). The foregoing depicts the manner in which the followers of William rose to such eminence. When we read of them having married heiresses, the daughters and widows of the Anglo-Saxon or Welsh owners of lands, let it always be considered—was it not by force? The hatred instilled into the breasts of the then natives would not have allowed willingly such unions with the invaders and spoilers of the land. It is true that the Norsemen, Angles, Saxons, and Jutes had done the same to other occupiers of the country in previous times; but the period was over five centuries since that had occurred. Civilisation consequent on Christianity had prevailed throughout, and the occupation by the mixed population was tenure on a very different footing. The foregoing relates to England, and was repeated in a different way in Scotland through the action of Queen Margaret, followed by her son, King David I. It has been stated that his father, King Malcolm III. (A.D. 1057 to 1093), first introduced surnames to break up the clans; also that in his reign parishes were defined,

and came into general force. In regard to the first statement, we are inclined to believe that it referred to the tribes, which thereby got broken up into clans, and became more amenable to the new owners of the soil on which they dwelt. In fact, as already mentioned by us, in many instances this is proved, for afterwards the native Goidels or Gaels became known by the surname, assumed or otherwise, of their foreign landlord. One surname thus prevailed, while no blood connection existed. They were taken over with the land as bondsmen, as if they were cattle. Such was the policy of the Anglicised Scottish kings to give effect to the charters which were first issued to procure stability to the holdings granted to those foreigners. It is to be remarked, however, that such strangers as the Gordons, Frasers, &c., obtained surnames in the Lowlands before they went further north, having had lands bestowed on them there. The Lowlanders had their names from various sources, but not on the clan system. They were then mixed, for with much Celtic blood, it was blended with the Norse to a considerable extent. The Saxon element, we contend, was small, which subject has already been dealt with. Some of the people near the Border formed small clans, but they were not massed as one without being to some extent of the same stock, and thus connected by name. In the Highlands in many clans they were unconnected by relationship. The growth, however, of the Border clans must have been quick, for the Scotts, one of them, only settled at Branhholm about 1446. The Armstrongs, Elliots,

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Lineage.*

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&c., are not found mentioned until after the Succession Wars. Galloway was on a different footing. Norse and other blood intermingled, as we have stated elsewhere; but the Goidel or Gael was dominant, and the Gaelic or Erse language spoken until about the end of the sixteenth century. The clan surname system was, however, never in force in the district, where the numerous surnames which exist are, as we have stated, peculiar to Galloway.

The general idea that the Celtic races were barbarians is not borne out when research is made. Even Britons must have been more or less cultivated when they could construct war-chariots. We will deal, however, with the races in Ireland, from which country the Irish-Scots returned to Galloway. In Ulster the kings had their palace built of stone prior to Christian times, and the Church, which took root very early, built monasteries, &c. Now all this could not have been done by barbarians, nor could they have made the beautiful gold, &c., articles of the finest workmanship, which have been found from time to time in various places. The Church was introduced from Rome, and the advantages obtained by the Norsemen who settled in Normandy were to some extent shared by the various races in Ireland.

THE FIRST
NOBILITY
IN SCOT-
LAND, SALE
OF TITLES,
&c.

We wish to refer to another subject of some interest, which is the attempt to claim descent for the first earls in Scotland from the Mormaers in the Highlands, who were of Celtic blood. The Norsemen in most instances supplanted those early rulers of districts, and when their power

ceased, the new title of earl, taken from the Norse *jarl*, pronounced *yarl*, was introduced and given to the new settlers then abounding, who had no apparent connection with, and were quite distinct from, the Mormaers. We believe the Mormaers to have held a much higher position than the earls, who subsequently appeared with much less power. Neither do they seem to have been connected by blood in any way. We will give the names and origin of the first earls as far as can be learned, and arrange the titles alphabetically.

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ANGUS, Earls of.—The first to be found was Gilchrist, in Gaelic Gille Criosd, the servant of Christ. *Gil* is a prefix from the Norse, generally given to names, and particularly in Ireland, where the Norsemen held sway for a considerable period. From the close connection which existed, it also extended to several located in Scotland. In the 'Irish Annals' will be found Gillecondad, son of GilMichel; Gillemakessoc, son of Gillemore; Gille-martyne, son of GilMichel; Gillemichel, son of GilMichel; and Gillepatrick, son of Malbride. *Gil-madr* in Norse means a libertine. In Gaelic a *gillie* means lad, &c., a servant. The Earl of Airlie claims descent from Gillibrede, Mormaer of Angus, or from Gilchrist already mentioned, which of them is not known. His ancestor is stated to have been Gilbert, the third son, who about 1163 had bestowed on him the barony of Ogilvy in Forfarshire, from which the family name was assumed. The period creates doubt as to this claim, and even if allowed, there is every reason to believe that both Gillibrede and Gilchrist were

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rather earls than Mormaers, who were not hereditary holders, and of mixed blood. We are inclined to think that the idea of descent arose from the supposition that Gillibrede and Gilbert were the same, which is so far correct, as the Gaelic for the latter is Gileabart and Gillebride; but Gilbert is not a Gaelic, but a Norse or Saxon name. It is claimed as Anglo-Saxon. In an interesting work,¹ first published in 1605 (see Walter, under Garlies, 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway'), Gilbert is said to be Saxon, and anciently spelled Gildberight, which is *gild*, free. By abbreviation it became Gilbert. The meaning was, liberally or bountifully disposed. The first Earl of Angus existed in the reign of Malcolm IV., and was alive in A.D. 1157. It passed in marriage with the heiress to Gilbert de Umfraville, an Anglo-Norman, in 1243. Forfeited. Passed to the Stewarts, and then to the Douglasses, both of whom were also of foreign extraction. Now held by the Duke of Hamilton, of Flemish origin.

ATHOLE, Earls of.—Created by King Edgar, who reigned from A.D. 1097 to 1107. Passed by marriage to Thomas, the brother of Alan, Lord of Galloway. Afterwards passed to six distinct families, the last being the Murrays, of Flemish origin. The present holders created Earl of Athole in 1626, and Duke of, in 1703.

BUCHAN, Earls of.—First possessed by Fergus

¹ 'A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities.' By the study and travell of R. V., London. Six editions, the first at Antwerp in 1605, and the last in London, 1678. Our copy is 1634.

between 1165 and 1210. Who he was is not known, but as we have shown, the name was in use by Norsemen, as well as by those of Celtic blood. In A.D. 1210, it passed by marriage to William Comyn, of Norman origin, and since then the title has been borne by three distinct families of foreign extraction, the present holders being a branch of the Erskine family, and obtained by marriage in the seventeenth century.

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CAITHNESS, Earls of.—Originally Norse. Passed to different families. Obtained in 1455 by William St Clair, of Anglo-Norman descent. Still kept by the Sinclairs, as now spelled.

CARRICK, Earls of.—First held by Duncan, son of Gilbert, son of Fergus, Lord of Galloway, whom we consider and have shown to be of Norse blood. Passed by marriage to Robert Brus, father of King Robert I., of Anglo-Norman origin.

DUNBAR AND MARCH, Earls of.—Research causes us to believe that they were of Anglo-Norse blood, the particulars in regard to which we gave under Mochrum, 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway.' The creation was in the twelfth century.

FIFE, Earls of.—The first family in the male line ended about A.D. 1356. There is considerable confusion as to their origin; but we do not think there is sufficient basis for believing that they were descended from the Mormaers, as some have asserted. As in other cases, it has been overlooked that Jarl (Earl) Thorfinn was in possession of Fifeshire at the time when Duncan Macduff is mentioned as the Mormaer. The district was also apparently largely colonised by Norsemen, and, as conquered, Thorfinn

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no doubt put in his own people as rulers, subordinate to himself. The names of places prove the power exercised. After 1356, the earldom passed with an only daughter, who was heiress. She had four husbands, but died childless. It next passed to the Stewarts, Earls of Menteith, of Anglo-Norman origin. The present holders obtained the title by creation in 1759, and claim descent from the first earls.

LENNOX, Earls of.—Of Anglo-Saxon or Norman origin. They first appear in the twelfth century. As in so many other cases, it passed by marriage in the fifteenth century to a branch of the Stewarts. The title was afterwards given to an illegitimate son of King Charles II., whose descendant is Duke of Richmond and Lennox. We gave an account of the Lennox family under Cally, parish of Girthon, in 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway.'

MAGNUS, Earl.—Of Norse origin, and became extinct at an early period.

MARR, Earls of.—Very fabulous statements have been circulated in regard to this earldom, arising in some measure from Lord Hailes giving forth: "This is one of the earldoms whose origin is lost in its antiquity. It existed before our records, and before the æra of genuine history." It is to be regretted that, living in more enlightened times, Lord Hailes did not profit by it; for in this, as well as in some other matters of historical importance, he made great blunders, which his name gave credence to, and have been followed by those (many in number) who take everything for granted, if written by some one with a name as a writer.

Starting with Earl Martacus in A.D. 1065, a connection with the Mormaers is wished to be made out which, research shows, never existed. That Martacus was of Celtic origin we do not believe, and certainly no connection with the Mormaers can be discovered. In no instance will this be found. From Martacus, first earl, we will pass to Gratney, who, as alleged, was the eleventh earl. He died in A.D. 1300. With two sons as issue, he had also a daughter, who is said to have married Sir E. Keith, and again whose daughter is said to have married Sir Thomas Erskine; but this information, strange to say, is in inextricable darkness when proof is requested. When it is considered that the families in question were at the time very flourishing, and consequently with no lack of recorders to register every event, and more particularly such as were of importance, it is remarkable that nothing authentic, or good guide, can be found to substantiate these marriages, if ever realities. The male line became extinct with Earl Thomas, who died in 1371 or 1379. It has been overlooked in the question of succession that William, Earl of Douglas, married Margaret, sister of Earl Thomas, and at his death, through this marriage, he became Earl of Marr. He was seized of the territorial earldom, and not as a tenant in right of his wife. She had by him James, who succeeded as Earl of Douglas and Marr, and fell in battle in A.D. 1388, without leaving legitimate issue, when his sister Isabella was seized of the earldom of Marr in 1391. She was unmarried, and is stated to have died in A.D. 1407-8 (1417-18?), when the line ended. The real

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claimants for the ancient earldom should be those of the Douglas family, of the same line as William, Earl of Douglas and Marr.

The Lyles and the Erskines afterwards claimed each one-half of the territory, but not the title, which being territorial required all the lands, and therefore only *one* heir. As the Lyles are said to have quartered the Marr armorial bearings, a connection in some way or other must have existed. With the Stewarts of Menteith there was also a connection. Also King James III. granted the earldom with the lands to his brother the Duke of Albany. Ultimately it passed to the Crown. Next to James Stewart, eldest illegitimate son of King James V., who afterwards renounced it, and was created Earl of Moray, and finally, in 1565, the earldom, with such lands as remained, under a new creation, were bestowed on John, Lord Erskine, for services performed, as specially mentioned by Alexander Hay, who was clerk of the Privy Council, to which he had been appointed in March 1564. He was afterwards appointed Clerk-Register and a Lord of Session in 1579, when he assumed the title of Lord Easter-Kennet. In his 'Estimate of the Scottish Nobility,' he states that John, Lord Erskine, "for his goode service and truthe, created Erle of Marre, and last was Regent of Scotland." This evidence is contemporary. The earldom of 1565 is the only one of Mar ever possessed by the Erskines.

The son of Lady Frances Jemima, daughter of John Thomas, Earl of Mar and Kellie, who died in 1828, claimed to be the heir in line; but the earl-

dom of 1565 being to heirs male, after much unpleasant altercation, an Act of Parliament was passed in 1885, granting to the Rev. Mr Goodeve, her son by her husband, Dr Goodeve of Clifton, near Bristol, an earldom entitled the Earl of Mar, but specified as not being in any way to the prejudice of the one held by the Erskines, the representative family. Thus this curious peerage controversy was settled in a curious manner.

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MENTEITH, Earls of.—Murdoch was the first earl, in the reign of King David I.—that is, from 1124 to 1153. It passed with the eldest daughter of the third earl to Walter Comyn, second son of William, Earl of Buchan. Afterwards obtained by Walter, third son of Walter, the third High Steward, who had married the youngest daughter, and on the strength of this he had the title, &c., wrested from her elder sister, already mentioned. Their second son, John, was the betrayer of Sir William Wallace. It next passed to the Grahams by marriage. Again to a Stewart, and again to a Graham, being Malise Graham, Earl of Strathern, with whose descendants it remained until direct heirs failed. Now dormant.

Ross, Earls of.—The first was Malcolm, in the reign of Malcolm IV.—that is, between A.D. 1153 and 1165. Next was Ferquhard, called the Son of the Priest. Then in the fourteenth century it passed by a daughter and heiress to other families in line from her. In 1424 it reverted to the Crown, and was vested in 1476. In 1778 it was claimed by Munro Ross of Pitcalnie, as the male descendant of Hugh, brother of the last earl in the fourteenth

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century. No decision was arrived at. It is almost unnecessary to state that there could be no claim for Malcolm as a descendant of the Mormaers of Ross and Moray.

STRATHERN, Earls of. — The first known was Malise, of Norse blood, who appears in A.D. 1114 to 1138. The earldom was granted in 1343 to Sir Maurice Moray, the nephew of Malise, the seventh earl.

The Stewarts, as in so many other cases, got this earldom also, and from whom it passed by a female to the Grahams. In 1427, the heir, Malise Graham, was created Earl of Menteith.

SUTHERLAND, Earls of.—Nisbet states that Walter, son of Alanys, Thane of Sutherland, killed by Macbeth, was the first earl, to which he was raised by Malcolm Canmore in A.D. 1061. The title of Thane, purely Saxon, we do not believe ever took root, if it ever existed in Scotland. It may have been used by Malcolm, &c., as an expression more than a reality, with other innovations of his through his wife Queen Margaret, but only for a brief period. The Walter, son of Alanus, has so much of the Anglo-Norman sound, that even if correct that he held the position ascribed, we must regard him as a foreigner. The starting-point to us seems to be William, the son of Hugh Freskine, a Fleming, who was created earl in A.D. 1228. The male line failed in 1766, and was carried on in the female line by Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of the last earl. She married, in 1785, G. E. Leveson-Gower, afterwards Marquis of Stafford, whose descendant, as the second Duke of Sutherland, is the present

representative, a dukedom having been bestowed in 1833.

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The foregoing were the earldoms in Scotland in 1283-84, and which then formed the entire nobility in the country. They all failed in the male line. With scarcely an exception they were of foreign extraction, and the same may be stated of those who followed, extending to the holders of titles in the present day. It is a remarkable circumstance that the Celtic families of position in early times were so completely put aside and kept down. We are not aware of any family of rank in Scotland at the present time who can, with any degree of truth, lay claim to descent from the ancient Mormaers in the Highlands, or others of high standing, at the same period, in the Lowlands. The oldest peerage, as we have shown, is the Earldom of Sutherland, and that was originally bestowed on a Fleming, which a century ago passed to the Gowers, an English family. We have to ask, Where are the descendants of the early and powerful foreign families who first were known in Scotland? How soon the Morvilles disappeared, who were the first Constables of Scotland, which high position they had secured, with lands in many counties, including Galloway! Not only did they entirely disappear, as we already mentioned elsewhere, but even where their castle was, in which they principally resided, is unknown. They were also Lords of Cunningham in Ayrshire, and a supposed place has been mentioned, but nothing certain can be ascertained. Their name alone remains in history. The power

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of Roland, and his son Alan, Lords of Galloway, was principally acquired from the first-named having married the daughter and heiress of Richard de Morville, the last of the family in the male line. Again, where are the De Soules or Soulis, the first of whom was Ranulph, a follower of King David I. from England, from whom a grant of the district of Liddesdale, &c., was obtained? Sir William, a descendant, played a traitor's part in Galloway, where he and his never owned an acre of land; but whose name was made use of by the prior and monks of Whithorn, to deceive King Robert the Bruce in regard to lands, when the latter was lying sick in the Priory. Where also are the representatives of the De Viponts or Vitreponis, who obtained lands in Galloway? or the Umfravilles, who became Earls of Angus, with much power, and lost it all? Their last descendant died in the present century in poverty. Several others of note could be named. Most of them had but short tenure of the territory and power lavished on them by Scotland's kings. The past histories of such families are now unknown, excepting to the inquirers into the things that are now shrouded in darkness. But little interest, if any, is taken by the world at large. The present peerage list has many historic titles and names, but they are not held by the male descendants of the original families. Some have come to the present holders through female descent—that is, marriages—and not a few in the most indirect manner; while in other cases, old titles have been revived by being assumed by fresh creations in semi-modern times. Another source of confusion

is that, in new creations, surnames and titles have been transposed—that is, an ancient surname has been taken as the title, and the title as the surname. This we find in illegitimate descents in England. Whether as peers or commoners, the assumption of surnames other than their own causes many a family to sail under false colours. The changes in England have been so vast, that in the present House of Lords there is not a single male descendant of any of the barons who were chosen to enforce the Magna Charta in A.D. 1215, or who fought at Agincourt in 1415. The necessity for giving the particulars may be gathered from the fact that in Galloway, where so many new people are to be found, we have heard the present Earls of Galloway called the successors of the Douglas family as Lords of Galloway. This ignorance is not exceptional.

The present Earls of Galloway obtained the lands of Garlies about the beginning of the fifteenth century. With the lordship of Galloway they never had any connection. Such position ceased with the Earls of Douglas when they fell in A.D. 1455, and they only held it for eighty-six years, having been possessed by several of them in succession during that brief time. About 150 years afterwards, in the reign of King James VI. of Scotland and I. of England, it is historical that the titles of earl, viscount, and baron were sold at different prices in the United Kingdom. Robert Ker, a handsome young Scotsman, was put forward by certain intriguing Scottish courtiers as a puppet to attract the king's attention, and thus to keep the latter

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from taking up with able and dangerous Englishmen at Court. However, he got beyond the object in view, obtaining a hold of the royal favour far exceeding what was intended by the instigators. Young Ker had nothing but a good personal appearance to recommend him. The bait, however, took with the weak king, who became attached to young Ker, and made him a knight, as well as a gentleman of the royal bedchamber. Soon after he was created Viscount Rochester. His career, however, became an infamous one. His connection with the Countess of Essex, and as the instrument of the murder of his friend who trusted in him, was a crime of the blackest character. As with many other Court favourites, his time of disgrace also arrived. It is believed that King James was not only aware of his proceedings with the Countess of Essex, but connived at what was going on, for, as stated, he was charmed to hear of the amours of his Court. On Ker's marriage with the Countess of Essex, he was created Earl of Somerset. In connection with Galloway, Sir John M'Douall of Garthland married Margaret Ker, daughter of Lord Jedburgh, and thus the friendship of Robert Ker, Earl of Somerset, was obtained. Through this influence M'Douall was knighted, who then bribed the earl to get him a peerage as Lord or Earl of Galloway, and he probably would have obtained it, had not the earl at the time fallen into disgrace. M'Douall lost both money and title. The money we believe was obtained by the sale of some land. Another applicant at the same time was Sir Alexander Stewart of Garlies, with the interest of Ludo-

vick Stuart, who in the Stewart line was the eighth Earl and the second Duke of Lennox, and through him Sir Alexander had been created Lord Garlies in A.D. 1607. When the favourite at Court had fallen, the way was clear for Lord Garlies, and through the same source he obtained further elevation by being created Earl of Galloway in 1623. Beyond original descent from a common ancestor some centuries previously, there was no connection with the senior branch, who by marriage founded the royal house of Stewart, yet from the absence of correct information, it was erroneously assumed. King James also sold one hundred baronetcies in England. The creations were granted under the plea to maintain a certain number of soldiers in Ireland, which was a blind, and the service commuted for money. In the same way in 1625, in Scotland, the Nova Scotia baronetcies were sold for one hundred and fifty pounds each, with a nominal six thousand acres of land in North America. The farce of infestment was by royal warrant carried out on the Castle-hill (Esplanade), Edinburgh.

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Another topic of some interest is the fact, as known to those who have gone closely into such research, that the Lord Lyon's registers do not contain the armorial bearings of many of the ancient families in Scotland. This arises from the downfall of so many, and the consequent indifference to such matters. During the time of the persecution an Act of Parliament was passed to compel registration, but it failed to obtain the required attention in a general way. As Nisbet in his book

ARMORIAL
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on Heraldry states, "Anno 1672, Act of Parliament, altho' ordained and instituted to prevent irregularities in Heraldry, yet at this day (1772) is not so complete as is to be wished, many of our most ancient and considerable families having neglected to register their arms, notwithstanding the Act of Parliament, partly thro' indolence, and partly thro' an extravagant opinion of their own greatness, as if the same could never be obscured," &c. This no doubt was the case in some instances, but so far as Galloway was concerned, the troubles that had accumulated on the Celtic and other families was the true reason. In addition, the district in these times was in a measure isolated from Edinburgh, where all such things were carried out. The prosperous families, from habits of intrigue, &c., alone kept up communication with the Scottish capital. Another point is that those who neglected to be registered at the time specified—now over two hundred years ago—the ancient armorial bearings borne by some families for many centuries, would be placed on the same footing in the registers as the most modern, so far as dates were concerned. This to ancient families who possessed armorial bearings from the earliest institution of such was naturally not agreeable to their feelings.

**THE
LANGUAGE.**

The languages in use in Galloway from first to last have been various, occasioned by so many different peoples who, in more or lesser numbers, were at different periods the inhabitants. The Celtic, however, was always in the ascendant. Buchanan tells us that Gaelic was the spoken

language in the sixteenth century, which may be considered to have been in existence for many centuries previously, as what we have stated about the colonisation from Ireland will show, and before that the Cymric Celtic dialect. Celtic scholars consider that in those early times the Goidelic and the Cymric did not greatly differ, excepting in the sub-dialects. Some writers, however, have questioned the Goidelic (Gaelic) language having been spoken in Galloway. Such erroneous views arise from the absence of a full knowledge of the inhabitants at different periods, and also because about the time of the Reformation all the proclamations, law proceedings, &c., were in the Lowland Scotch; that the Bible was translated into the vernacular, and the General Assembly in 1579 says, "There was a copy in every church, and the book of God's law is read and understood in our vulgar language, and almost in every private house." It is forgotten that 'The Book of Common Order' of the Church was translated into Gaelic by Carswell, Superintendent of Argyll, and printed in 1567. The Bible, however, was not translated and printed in the same language; and it was not until 1690 that a translation into Irish was made by — Beadle, an Englishman, born in Essex, and which the Gaelic population in Scotland made use of until 1736, when the Rev. James Stewart of Killin parish, Perthshire, translated the New Testament into Gaelic, and his son, the Rev. Patrick Stewart, followed with the Old Testament, thereby completing the Bible in the Gaelic language. In 1820, the latter had a grant from

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Government of £1000 for this important work. There is no proof against what we believe to be a fact as regards Galloway. All the enactments we have given were framed in Edinburgh, where the Lowland Scotch was the language spoken. All the public documents, charters, &c., in England at one time were in Norman-French, yet the people did not speak that language. Besides, what we quote applies to Scotland generally, and not to Galloway specially. Our belief is, that both the Gaelic and the Lowland Scotch were spoken in Galloway at the end of the sixteenth century (as now to be found in the Highlands), and that the latter gradually gained the ascendancy from the proximity of the district to the Lowlands, where the Scottish dialect was in use. Buchanan, in the early portion of his 'History of Scotland,' like the other historians dealing with that period, cannot be relied on; but he was living at the period to which we refer, and his position enabled him to know what he was writing about.

From what we have given of the history of Galloway, it may be accepted that the great body of the inhabitants were of Celtic origin, and although great changes have taken place during the present century, yet, as a whole, the population may still be so classed. The augmentation to the Cymric Celts by the colonisation from Ireland was chiefly a return of the same Goidelic or Gaelic people, by whom for a time the whole of Scotland, to a large extent, was inhabited. The natives of Strathclyde were Cymric Celts, and, as we stated in its proper place, for centuries were ruled by

their own kings. It is known that the names of places in Galloway and Ayrshire are purer Celtic, and better understood by the Gaelic scholar, than they are in Breadalbane and many other parts of the Highlands. There are also many words of blended Cymric and Gaelic. It has been mentioned that in 1672, when Highlanders were quartered on the Galloway Presbyterians, they were surprised to find themselves addressed by the natives in the Erse or Gaelic. The Goidels only brought back the Gaelic language as spoken by their ancestors prior to the Cymric occupation, and as it had continued in the Highlands from an early period.

The framework of legal government, at least, seems to have been introduced into Galloway as early as in any other portion of Scotland. As to be learned from the Chartulary of Glasgow, before the end of the twelfth century there is a precept of the king commanding his sheriffs and bailiffs of Galloway, Carrick, and the Levanachs to allow the Bishop of Glasgow to collect the tithes and dues in those counties. At the same time the Gallowaymen adhered to their own Celtic laws in so far as their local transactions were concerned, and had proper judges appointed for that purpose. This continued to the reign of James VI., when the practice of *caulpes*, or gifts from the tenantry to their landlords, was put down by Act of Parliament.

In A.D. 1292 and 1296, various individuals in the district swore fealty to King Edward I. of England, and obtained writs to have their property

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restored. In the latter year Edward appointed Roger de Skoter as justiciary. Thomas Mackulach, about the same time, was made sheriff, and Roger de Kirkpatrick and Walter de Burghton justices. Still the old laws were not interfered with. One of the first, granted by Robert the Bruce, was a charter confirming the new liberties bestowed by the king on the Galwegians. In 1341, it was seriously abridged by the creation of the Earldom of Wigton (see Mochrum, 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway'), which included the whole county, with the jurisdiction of a regality. By the said charter, Wigton was confirmed as the shire town. Douglas, who purchased the earldom in 1372, possessed the same privileges as Fleming. William Douglas of Leswalt was sheriff of Wigtonshire, and keeper of the Castle of Lochnaw, Leswalt, in the reign of James I. In 1426, the latter was acquired by Andrew Agnew, *scutifer* or squire to Margaret Douglas, Duchess of Touraine. In 1452, his son, Andrew Agnew, was styled of Lochnaw, and as *scutifer* to James II., the office of sheriff was granted to him. The sheriffship was retained by the Agnews until 1682, when the then holder was superseded for refusing to take "the Test Oath." Colonel John Graham of Claverhouse was appointed in his stead, and the next year (1683) his brother David Graham was appointed conjunct sheriff. When the Revolution came, the sheriffship was restored to the Agnews, and remained with them until the abolition in 1747, when £4000 was allowed in lieu of the office. Other claims, such as the bailiarics of regalities, were in this way

bought up or repudiated, and the sheriffship came to be a matter of appointment by the Crown, and the magistrates of the burghs continue to exercise their constitutional functions unmolested. In 1706, when the Articles of Union between England and Scotland were publicly burned at Dumfries by an armed mob, it does not appear that the landowners in Galloway took any share in the proceedings. The first and immediate effect of the measure was injurious, and it was not for half a century that Scotland began to feel the benefit. But for an accident the Union would have been dissolved by a vote of the House of Lords, brought on by some of the Scottish Peers in 1713; and it was mainly the discontent occasioned by the Union, and not so much from affection for the Stewarts, that produced the rebellion of 1715, in which the Kenmure and Nithsdale families in Galloway took a share. The Sasine books of the district for the period bear evidence to the burdening of estates, and the changes in the ownerships of lands. Added to this was the failure in 1772 of the Douglas and Heron bank, which brought additional ruin to many.

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The word Galloway has had various derivations applied to it, and appears in various forms, as we have already mentioned. We will merely repeat here that the name implies a mixed population—viz., Gall, a stranger, evidently referring to the Norsemen, and Ghædal, Celts, the Cymric and Gaelic natives. The present counties of Wigton and Kirkcudbright comprise the district known as

DESCRIPTION OF
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Galloway. There is an idea that the first should be spelt with the letter *V*, which is probably correct, and it is so given in Pont's 'Galloway Topographised.' His survey of the district was made between 1608 and 1620. In his map, published by Blaeu, the town is spelled with a *W* and not a *V*. This change, however, may have been copied from the Ragman Roll of the year 1296, in which we find the shire spelled Wygeton, Wyggeton, and Wiggeton. If originally spelled with the *V*, it would be from the Norse so far as regards the first part of the name, which in that language is Vigg, and means a house, although also found as the name of an island in Norway. There is *vigi*, a stronghold, which might be applied. The general impression is that the first syllable is derived from the bay, and it may be so, as although in the Norse *vik*, from *vikja*, is the word applying, yet in the Danish, as mentioned by Cleasby and Vigfusson, there is *vig* for a small creek, inlet, or bay. It is further stated that the form *wick* or *wich* in British local names is partly of Norse, partly of Latin (*vicus*) origin, and that all inland places of course belong to the latter class. The next syllable, *ton*, is in Norse *tun*, which applies to a town as well as to a farm or buildings. In the oldest of the burgh charters extant, dated 28th April 1457, it is spelled Wigtoun. The final *e* is sometimes used. For a few years, about 1790, it was spelled Wigton. The town of Wigton in Cumberland is found as Wygton in the seventeenth century, and the same in the twelfth century connected with a barony, and also a church so named. From what we have given,

and the fact that the Wigtons known are in Galloway and Cumberland, where the Norsemen ruled for about a couple of centuries, we think is conclusive evidence that in both districts the name had a Norse origin. Wigtonshire or Western Galloway has upon the east Kirkcudbrightshire as its boundary, being divided therefrom by the river Cree and the Bay of Wigton. On the north side it has Carrick, Ayrshire, with the Irish Channel and the Solway Firth on the west and south, thereby being largely sea-girt. The length of the county varies, being twenty-three, twenty-five, and twenty-nine miles, the whole comprising 309,087 acres. The principal rivers are the Cree as a boundary, which has its rise from two streams, Cree proper, which is small, from Loch Dornel in Penninghame parish, and the other near Eldrig hill in Carrick, Ayrshire, the direct distance of which to Newton-Stewart is eighteen miles. Of the full length, with windings until discharging into Wigton Bay at Creetown, we have not the mileage. The next river is the Bladenoch, flowing from Lochmaberry and the mountainous parts of Penninghame, being joined below Craighlaw by the Tarf flowing from Airtfield in the moors of Luce. The Bladenoch then flows on until its discharge into the Bay of Wigton at Wigtown, nearly opposite to Creetown. Formerly it came close to the town. The Luce, another fine river, flows from the Carrick march for twelve miles ere it falls into the Bay of Luce near Glenluce. The rivers mentioned are frequented by salmon and sea-trout. The Cree and the Bladenoch have also that delicate fish the spirling.

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There are many smaller streams, with more or less trout, &c., the largest of which are the Malzie, the Cross, the Soleburn, and the Piltanton, &c. The old religious houses were the abbeys of Glencuce, Saulseat, Wigton, and the Priory of Whithorn, while the remains of ancient chapels still stand, or can be traced. The most ancient and interesting is at Cruggleton, near Garlieston, a portion of which still exists. It has much similarity to the style in early use in Ireland, and evidently was erected during the period when the Irish-Scottish Church at Iona was in existence. The owners of the castle from about the beginning of the twelfth century having been Irish-Scots will account for this. We recently got a photograph in Dublin of an arch to a doorway leading to a burial-ground at Castle Dermot, county Kildare, which shows much similarity to the chancel arch at Cruggleton Chapel. The principal difference seems to be in the cutting of the stones, if so cut as appears in the photograph. We had not time to see the ruin. There are other examples elsewhere. From the usual want of interest shown until recently in the preservation of ancient buildings in Galloway, a year or two ago the eastern gable wall was blown down. This is much to be regretted, as it formed the portion of the chancel where the altar stood, and above which, in the most primitive form, there was a largely splayed window, more like a loophole. It was about 18 inches high and 9 in width. We took a sketch of the chapel, including the gable, which then stood, and which is given in 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway.' We have to observe that in our descrip-

tion we erroneously inserted the word "niche," and that the engraver has not shown the outside wall in a straight line. It is as well to mention these mistakes.

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The Presbyteries are two in number—Wigton and Stranraer—with nine parishes in the first named and ten in the latter. Lochryan is the only land-locked salt-water loch. Wigton and Luce bays have also been so called. They are, however, really bays or arms of the sea; but as loch also bears the latter meaning, the term when applied is not wrong. Lochryan runs from north to south inland about ten miles. Wigton Bay is four miles broad and eight in length. Luce Bay, from the Mull of Galloway to about the head of Craignarget, is about sixteen miles in length, and as to width, it can scarcely be defined, as it may be called open sea between the Mull and the Burrow Head on the opposite coast. At the present mouth of the river Bladenoch there is a bank of shells that has existed for the last two centuries at least, and does not seem to diminish. The shells, burned with peat, furnished lime for the country around. The fresh-water lochs, in regard to which we will again refer, are numerous. Some of them have islets. Some also have trout; while others have pike, perch, &c. The royal burghs are Wigtown, Whithorn, and Stranraer. The harbours are Stranraer, Wigtown, Garlieston, Portpatrick, Isle of Whithorn, Drumore, and Port-William.

The eastern portion of Galloway is Kirkcudbrightshire. Chalmers and others have stated that it had its name from Cærcuthbert, the Saxons hav-

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ing founded the burgh, and given it that name in honour of their tutelary saint, Cuthbert of Lindisfarne. The Saxon occupation we have already dealt with as being erroneous; but even had it been so, we think that the usual practice of honouring a saint was to build and dedicate a church, rather than a fortress or burgh, to him or her. Besides, it was overlooked that the ancient name of the parish of Ballantrae was Kirkcudbright-Inner-tig, from the church which, dedicated to St Cuthbert, stood at the confluence of the Tig. The name was changed to Ballantrae in 1617. The position of saints has been reversed by the Church of Rome, for by the Scriptures they are found on earth, instead of which, by being canonised, they are made so after death. Anyhow, the history of St Cuthbert is worthy of notice, for, as we have shown under our remarks about the Saxons, their name has been used in the usual exaggerated form. That Cuthbert was a Saxon we do not credit. As we have mentioned, the people in the Lowlands who were not Celtic, when temporarily held by those south of the Tweed, were more of Scandinavian origin than Saxon. Butler, in his 'Lives of the Saints,' states that he was born not far from Mailros (Melrose), and his name signifies illustrious for skill, or Guthbertus, worthy of God. These two meanings are rather wide of each other. It seems a forced explanation, and based on a Saxon supposition. Following the above, another very different account is given in the same work—viz., that, according to the saint's MS. life in the Cottonian Library, he was born at Ceannes or Kells, in Meath; his mother

was Saba, a princess who led a holy life; and that he was grandson of Murertach, King of Ireland, A.D. 533. This latter account may not be quite correct in the particulars, but we are inclined to give more credence to it than the Melrose pedigree, for it was about this time that Colum-cille settled in Iona; and also, as we have shown, Galloway was being colonised by the Irish-Scots from Ulster. Anyhow, wherever born, he is as a saint first known in history as being in Scotland, and as a monk at Melrose. After different movements he succeeded as prior of Melrose in 664, and some years afterwards he was removed to Lindisfarne. He next became a hermit on Farne isle, and ended as bishop of the district, the office being forced on him. He died on the 26th March 687. Such is an outline account. More particulars are given by us in 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway.' That he was a good man is apparent, and that the shire and town bearing his name took it from him as a native of Ireland, we credit.

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It is to be remembered that the Irish-Scottish Church, with its Celtic clergy, was the Church at that time, and its influence was not only in Galloway and other parts of Scotland, but also in the north of England. Aiden and some companions, in the time of Colum-cille, journeyed from Iona to Landisfarne, and, as mentioned by Bede, they were constantly employed reading the Scriptures and learning psalms. The saint's name in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was written Cudbright, and Kirkcuthbright, as applied in Gallo-

✓ *Description of Galloway.*

way. In the fourteenth century, Kirkubry. In Reginald of Durham it is given as Cuthbrictisk-chirch, and St Cuthbert of Denesmore, in the Char-tulary of Holyrood. It is also found as Kirkcuthbert, Kirkcubree, and Kirkcudbright. Most of the spellings show their phonetic origin, so common in early times. Kirkcudbrightshire or Eastern Galloway is, from north-west to south-east, forty-four miles long; the extreme breadth is thirty-one miles, the minimum is twenty-one miles. The acreage is 571,950, of which a large proportion is mountainous. It is separated from Western Gallo-way (Wigtonshire) on the west side by the river Cree and Wigton Bay. On the east it is bounded by Dumfriesshire and the river Nith; on the north and the north-west by Ayrshire; and on the south by the Solway Firth. The coast is generally bold and iron-bound. Off the parish of Colvend are the Barnhourie sands, which extend from five to five and a half miles. The northern portion of the shire is very mountainous, the hills ranging from 2764 to 1142 feet high. This tract of country extends to Ayrshire, and is a wild, picturesque district, principally occupied with cattle and sheep. Here and there are arable lands scattered through-out, but the chief grain-growing portion is in the southern parishes. There, as to be expected, are the remains of the religious establishments which existed prior to the Reformation — viz., Dun-drennan, Tunland, Balmacross, New Abbey, and Lincluden; also the priory of St Mary's Isle. As in Wigtonshire, the ruins or sites of various small chapels can still be seen or traced. The prin-

cipal river is the Ken, which runs into and forms Loch Ken, below New Galloway, and, debouching therefrom, becomes the Dee. The total length of the two rivers united is forty-six miles, running through the centre of the county, and discharging into the Solway below Kirkcudbright. The Urr is another river to be noticed, which has its rise from Loch Urr in and on the south-western boundary of Dumfriesshire. It has a course of twenty-six miles, and discharges eastward of Hestan island into the Solway Firth. The river Fleet comprises the Big and Little waters of Fleet. The first has its source near Cairnsmuir, parish of Kirkmaebreck, and the other in Loch Fleet. The latter joins near Castramont. They flow through a beautiful country, and discharge into Wigton Bay, near Gatehouse-on-Fleet. In all the foregoing rivers salmon and trout are to be found. There are many small streams with trout, &c. The lochs inland are also numerous, in which trout, pike, perch, &c., are to be got. In fact, in no other district in Scotland are so many lochs as in Galloway. They are to be met with of different sizes in every parish. As we will state under Crannogs, of late years they have attracted much interest, as in those with islets, most of the latter have been discovered to be of artificial construction, and on which, in prehistoric times, were the abodes of the then natives. As we have mentioned elsewhere, Cæsar relates that the aborigines in England had their dwellings in the forests, no doubt where lakes did not exist.

The character of Kirkcudbrightshire being much more mountainous, is sufficient to prove that so far

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Description of Galloway.

it was a wilder district in ancient times than the western part of Galloway, now known as Wigtonshire. The latter has also many hills, but the ranges are not very high, and they rise abruptly. As seen from Kirkcudbrightshire, it has a rather flat aspect. In former times it was covered with trees forming a vast forest, and as late as the beginning of the present century it may be described as a vast moorland stretch of country, with here and there cultivated land interspersed. In the same way, in Kirkcudbrightshire, there were fertile strips of land, especially on the south coast, and a considerable quantity of grain must have been raised, for, during the occupation by King Edward I., wheat was exported from Kirkcudbright to Cumberland and Ireland, to be made into flour, and reshipped for the use of his army. This shows that the primitive mode of grinding was then in force. In after-times various mills are to be found particularly mentioned in charters, with "thirlage" over lands named, which was, that the tenants were bound to send all their grain to be ground at the said mill. This is still in force, if not in actual performance, by a percentage being levied on the rental of lands owned by others embraced in the charter. Although possessed of so large a seaboard, Kirkcudbrightshire has only one port of any consequence, and that is Kirkcudbright, which maintains a harbour-master, and has a good many small vessels belonging to and coming to the port. Creetown, Gatehouse, and Palnackie on the Urr, have a few small coasting vessels. The first and last named are principally for vessels in connec-

tion with the conveyance of granite to Liverpool and London.

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When Mr John Maclellan wrote his account of Galloway for 'Blau's Atlas Scotiæ,' early in the seventeenth century, it would appear that he was not fully acquainted with the names of the ancient families and the history of the district. Those of his name were chiefly located in Eastern Galloway, Kirkcudbrightshire. As we have shown in 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway,' the origin and early history of the family name which he bore has hitherto been erroneously placed in a position which research negatives.

One of the race features in Galloway, from which more or less is to be learned, are the circular earth-works or forts, with ramparts and ditches. They are on the tops of hills, and are numerous. The largest sized are called *duns*, the Gaelic for a fort. The word *moat* is also used for a fort, which is distinct from *mote*, an unfortified mound for courts of justice, of which there are several in Galloway, and stated to be from the Gaelic *mod*, a council or court of justice. In Wales the forts are or were very numerous, and as those in Galloway are usually called British, it tends to support our statement that the Cymri were for some time in possession of the district, and were found there by the Romans. Similar forts are also to be found in Dumfries, Peebles (over one hundred), Selkirk, and Berwick shires, as well as in other parts, Perthshire and Argyll; but in the latter place they differ in form, &c. Even as far north as Ross-shire they are to

Dun + Mote

Forts.

be found on its borders, but not always on high land, as usually found in Galloway, which latter site is also generally found in Ireland, where the same kind of forts are very numerous in nearly every county, particularly in Ulster and Connaught. They are called *raths* there, the Irish for a fort; but the common name is *lios*, which means a fortress. The construction of those in Ireland are identical with those in the south of Scotland, with one exception, which was, that the latter were usually confined to one rampart and ditch, whereas those in Ireland had one, two, and sometimes three intrenchments, of which latter kind there is one example in Galloway—on Chippermore farm, parish of Mochrum. It is close to the shore, Bay of Luce, and instead of one, it has two inner circular ramparts. This fort has puzzled many inquirers, and, as too often the case in all questionable structures, it has been ascribed to the Saxons. That it was the work of the Irish-Scots there cannot be a doubt. It may be remarked here that considerable intercourse in early times seems to have existed between the peoples in Wales and in Ireland, which will account for the similarity in the forts found. Two or three vitrified forts have also been found in the district. In what way the stones were vitrified has not been discovered. The material as found has all the appearance of slag from furnaces, and it is known that certain stones do melt with a high degree of heat. The finest specimen of the kind known to us is on a range of high land between Dingwall and Strathpeffer, in Ross-shire. We may also mention, before closing this subject, Camp Hill,

on the borders of Hereford and Worcester shires, near to Malvern. The hill, which is 1096 feet high, has its name from the extensive earthworks, with a citadel fifty yards in diameter, on the north and highest point. Tradition connects this extensive range of fortifications with Caractacus. It is said to have been stormed by the Romans in A.D. 75. From the summit a great extent of country is seen, with some of the Welsh mountains in the distance.

Forts.
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As now generally known, the aborigines in Galloway had their strongholds on the isles, many of which are found to be artificial, in the lochs which abound in the district. It is only about fifty years ago that they were discovered in Ireland, which led to similar investigation in Galloway with success, when Dowalton Loch was drained. Since then they have been traced in various other lochs, and some remain to be explored. These loch, or, as Anglicised, lake-dwellings, are known as Crannogs, and lately discovered in various parts of Scotland; also in England and Wales, Switzerland, and Southern Africa. Probably many more discoveries sooner or later will be made.

CRANNOGS.

Other objects of interest in Galloway are the numerous cairns. Those of the Druids were usually surrounded with circles of stones, a large flat one being on the top, where the sacrifices were made. Of this class it is doubtful that any are in Galloway. They are distinct from the cairns raised over the dead. As *cārn* or *cairn*, in Gaelic, is for a heap of stones, so *carnach* or *cairneach* is a Druid, a

CAIRNS.

Cairns.
 heathen priest, a priest. As mentioned in Colonel Forbes-Leslie's 'Early Races of Scotland,' cairns are known from the time of Jacob, when he raised one at Mizpah, and set up a pillar. Darius, on certain occasions, caused each one of his soldiers to throw a stone, and thus immense piles were raised. We all know that some were as records of dark or infamous deeds; others as honourable memorials. Colonel Forbes-Leslie states that in Ceylon, in Palestine, in Syria, and in various countries of Europe, to the extreme north of Scotland, it was the custom of every one who passed to add a stone. Having been in the East, Colonel Leslie's observations are based on much that he saw.

ROCKING-
 STONES.

The "rocking-stones" are very remarkable. There is no positive information as to which people placed them in the positions found; but, as stated, they have been usually found in those parts of Europe where Celts and Druids existed longest, and where their other monuments and superstitions have been most enduring. Although principally in Scotland, they are also found in Cornwall, Wales, and Ireland.

CUP AND
 RING
 MARKINGS.

The interesting discovery in Galloway of "cup and ring markings," of late years, has attracted considerable attention. They bear a resemblance, as some consider, to egg shells or cups encircled by rings, and are found cut on rocks. A good many examples have been found in different parts of the district, but as yet the history is in darkness. We may remark, however, that "rock tracings" in Scandinavia have also been made public.

They are considered to be of great antiquity. They are different from the "cup and ring markings" in this sense, that they depict sea-fights, &c., or attacks on shore from afloat—in fact, pictures traced on the rocks. An account will be found in 'The Viking Age,' vol. ii.

*Cup and
Ring
Markings.*
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In regard to the term "Stewartry," by which title Kirkcudbrightshire continues to be known to many, it arose from the king's steward taking up his quarters in the town of Kirkcudbright when collecting the revenue. Some believe that the Stewartries were not instituted until after the Stewards (Stewarts) succeeded to the throne through the marriage already mentioned. This the Kennure titles disprove, as it was a Stewartry in the time of Walter, High Steward, who married Marjory Bruce. Annandale was a Stewartry. Also the estates in Fifeshire of Robert Stewart, Earl of Menteith, second son of King Robert II., who became Duke of Albany, were called "the Stewartry." The general opinion has been, that the person holding the position was more of a magistrate appointed by the king over the latter's own private lands. Erskine tells us that the Stewartries consisted of small parcels of land, and not counties. Kirkcudbrightshire, however, and the Orkney and Shetland Isles, both Stewartries, are counties, and send representatives to Parliament. There were several other lands called Stewartries throughout the country, but they were only baronies. We consider, as already stated, that it had more to do with what are now called rents than anything else. The administration of justice

STEWART-
RIES.

*Stewart-
ries.*

could be connected with that. It is not, however, known when Kirkcudbrightshire altogether belonged to the king. It must have been assumed as private property by King Robert after the confiscation of Baliol's lands, and his brother Edward Bruce made Earl or Lord of Galloway. The name of Stewartry was no doubt obtained in the time of Walter, sixth Steward, from his having charge of it on behalf of the king. This is confirmed from the lands first obtained by the Gordons having been granted by charter on behalf of the king by his son, Robert the Steward.

THE TIDES. The rapid flow of the tides in the Solway Firth, and off the coast of Galloway generally, has been made known to the public by Sir Walter Scott in 'Redgauntlet.' So far as we recollect, a horse at full gallop could barely escape being overtaken by the flood-tide. With all allowance for exaggeration in a work of fiction, yet the Solway tides, and all along the Galloway coast, require caution. The average velocity is four knots on spring, and two knots (off Creetown three) with neap tides, which, respectively, is over four and a half and two and a quarter miles an hour; but on certain parts of the coast the velocity is much greater. Off the Burrow Head there is a heavy race when the ebb is opposed by a strong westerly wind; and from the advanced position of the Mull, and the consequent concentration of the tide-streams, aided, perhaps, by the character of the bottom near it, there are dangerous races and overfalls extending for two miles off, especially

when the tide-streams are opposed by strong winds. *The Tides.*
Between Annan Foot and the opposite shore (*i.e.*, at the head of the Solway, and therefore out of Galloway), which is the ideal ground no doubt of Redgauntlet's ride, the flood-stream during spring-tides is at the rate of five and six knots an hour, which is equal to over five and three-quarter and six and three-quarter miles. We may mention that the nautical knot is 6000 feet or 2000 yards; the English mile is 1760 yards. We can easily understand that, with a gale from the south-west, how greatly the rate is increased. The same extreme velocity of the tide-stream is at times experienced off Creetown, and at the ferry higher up. The average there is five knots, or about five and three-quarter miles at springs, and three knots, or over three and a half miles during neaps. As already stated, these are materially influenced by the wind, which, however, may be with or against, and above the ferry by spates. The tidal stream reaches within a mile of Newton-Stewart. The foregoing information is taken from the Admiralty survey of the coast and sailing directions.

Galloway has little mineral wealth, which has MINERALS. been the making of both proprietors and lessees in other parts of Scotland. So far, however, as others are concerned, the absence of minerals to any extent has been the means of preserving the appearance of the country, and excluding a mining population, which does not add to the respectability of a rural district. Lead and iron have been found, but not coal. Lately, however, the latter has been

Minerals. discovered near to Sanquhar, Dumfriesshire, which is close to Galloway. A stratum of lead is believed to extend from Minnigaff to the Leadhills at Sanquhar. The mine at Blackcraigs, near Newton-Stewart, has been worked lately; but the other shafts in the same neighbourhood have not been successful. Iron ore is found in the parish of Rerwick, on the farms of Culnaightrie and Auchenleck, and has been worked, but not with much success. The absence of coal near to is against the working, even if the ore was found in abundance, which, it is said, is so in the parish of Urr, but it has to be proved.

The mountains are principally composed of grey granite. This stone is also largely found in the moors of both counties. In some parts whinstone is also found to a considerable extent, which is the best understood name for what we believe is called schistus by geologists, combining in Galloway schistus proper and greywacke. The granite quarries at Kirkmabreck and Dalbeattie are well known. For many years a good many brigs, schooners, and sloops have been employed conveying the stone from the first-named place to Liverpool, of which the docks, &c., at that port were constructed. The same stone has also been conveyed to London, the river Thames Embankment wall being built of it.

FORESTS
AND WILD
ANIMALS.

Galloway in early times was covered with a dense forest. This now is more apparent to the eye in Kirkcudbrightshire, where the remains of such are still to be seen in various parts. In Wigtonshire it is different; but those who traverse the moorlands which remain, and study the peat bogs

or flows, will see plenty specimens of oak and birch trees embedded, to prove incontestably that the whole country was at one time covered with trees. The names of not a few places relate to woods which existed. With so much forest land, the result was that various animals now unknown in Scotland were then to be found—such as the wolf, wild swine, and the urus, which is stated to have resembled a bull, but larger in size and swifter. It is now believed to have been the white or buff ox, which used to range through the forests in Scotland, and was very wild. Jamieson states that urus is derived from the German *Aurochs*, ox; *Ur-Ochs*, an *ure-ox*, a buff, a wild bull. This description agrees with the wild cattle preserved in Chillingham, Northumberland, and in the park at Hamilton Palace, Lanarkshire. There were a few at one time in Dalkeith Park, near Edinburgh. In their instincts and habits they are truly wild. In colour white or buff, with the inside of the ears reddish-brown; eyes rimmed with black, muzzle brown, hoofs black, and horns tipped with black. The breed is different from the present Galloway ox, which is black and hornless. In shape straight and broad in the back, and from head to tail nearly level, closely put together, with breadth at the loins, depth of chest, and short-legged; the head not large, with ears large and shaggy; the hair is long and soft. We follow Mackenzie in this description. Deer were also common in Galloway, but have long since disappeared. Various remains of them have been found in the flows or bogs throughout the district, and particularly in the

*Forests
and Wild
Animals.*

Moss of Cree. The elk also appears to have existed: the left-side antler of one was brought up in a salmon-net from the bottom of the river Cree, somewhere between Newton-Stewart and Creetown. The discovery is mentioned in the 'Proceedings of the Scottish Antiquarian Society, 1882-83.' The oak forests everywhere supplied food for the herds of wild hogs, which the abundance of acorns are supposed to have kept in the district. Their flesh is believed to have been the animal food in general use among the people. Cattle, sheep, and goats also abounded; a few of the last are still found on the mountains. King Malcolm gave to the monks of Kelso Abbey "a tithe of the cattle, hogs, and cheeses of my can (*cain* in Gaelic) of four kadres from that Galloway of which, in the lifetime of King Alexander, my grandfather had each year." Also herds of horses are mentioned as having been in the woods in a wild state.

An idea is entertained by some that the forest-trees of Galloway were small, stunted, gnarled productions. This can only apply to rocky parts, where the soil was not capable of producing good timber, and where the sea-blast prevailed. The remains of the natural forests with this description of timber are still to be found in the wild northern parts of Kirkcudbrightshire. In other places natural wood of the oak and birch species is still to be seen, which would compare favourably with good specimens on the more genial soils of the kingdom. The forests in ancient times afforded abundance of fuel to the inhabitants, and this continued for many centuries. The fierce conflicts which were carried

on with the English were, however, the chief cause of the destruction of the timber, as to clear the country for advancing into it with safety, they felled and burned vast quantities. From being a well-wooded country, it and other southern districts in Scotland at last became the reverse, which was deplored; and in the reign of King James II., an Act was passed compelling the owners of land to make their tenants plant woods, trees, and hedges, and sow broom. Another Act, in the reign of James IV., declares that "the wood in Scotland is utterly destroyed." It enacted that those who cut or sold green wood or burned heather after the month of March were to be fined five pounds; and lairds were to plant one acre of wood at least. Again, under an Act of King James V., every man having a hundred-pound land of new extent, on which there was no wood, had to plant trees, and make hedges, &c., extending to three acres; and their tenants, for every merk land, to plant a tree, under a penalty of ten pounds, to be paid by every laird that failed. Another Act of Parliament, in the reign of King James VI., provided that wilful destroyers and cutters of trees were to be put to death as thieves. All this proves the change that had come over the country. Of course, with the destruction of the forests, wolves, swine, &c., and other wild animals became extinct. The boars were very ferocious when pressed, but they were held in a very different light to the dangerous wolf. By an Act of Parliament, James VI., 1581, it was enacted that the sheriff and bailie should hunt the wolf thrice a-year betwixt St Mark's Day and Lambes, and

*Forests
and Wild
Animals.*

*Forests
and Wild
Animals.*
—

that the people should go with them for that purpose. Probably King James, who was more garrulous and interfering than courageous, feared them in his hunting expeditions.

PRODUCTS,
&c.

In the seventeenth century the chief Galloway products were cattle, small horses, sheep, and in some part of the moors, goats, wool, and woollen cloth; also bere (coarse barley), oats, and hay. From the hilly nature of the country, the greater portion of the land was better adapted for pasture than tillage. England was the great market for the cattle; the sheep were principally sent to Edinburgh; and the horses and woollen cloth were disposed of at the district fairs. The wool was mostly taken to Ayr, Glasgow, Stirling, Edinburgh, &c. At this period the people were so addicted to the use of tobacco that they thought it no shame to take a chew from any one. Symson (whose account is interesting) says, "Let a stranger carry an ounce or two, and he will not want for a guide by night or by day." Another practice was to barrel up the whey for drink in the winter time, when milk was scarce. Properly skimmed, it would keep for a year. Another custom was to tan the cow-hides with heather in lieu of bark; and the shoemakers went to the houses of their customers to make shoes for the family, where they resided while so employed.

In the year 1811 the following was written: "Farming has advanced rapidly within the last fifty or sixty years; so much so, that farms in my knowledge are now giving twenty, some fifteen,

and some ten per cent more than they then paid. The tenants are paying on an average property tax and other public burdens fully equal to the rents sixty years ago. In my time, at this season (November), a ewe was bought for 2s. 6d.; milk cow and calf from 30s. to 40s.; horses of our own breed, two, three, and four years old, from £1, 10s. to £3, 8s.; oatmeal was as low as 9d. or 10d. per stone of 17½ English lb.; beef and mutton under 1d. per lb., and everything else in proportion." The improvement of the district has continued. The making of Cheddar cheese has been brought to great perfection, so much so that the Galloway cheese is now on a par with the best quality in England. The breeding of horses, and particularly Clydesdales, is another new feature. The small breed called "Galloways" is believed to have been introduced from Scandinavia, when the Norsemen had possession of the district. They are described as short and active on their legs, hard in hoofs, and large in arm, also good in temper. They have for long been admired as a handsome breed; and being fit for both saddle and harness, the demand, especially of late years, has exceeded the supply. The game of polo has had something to do with this. The Clydesdale draught breed at present attracts most attention in Galloway, and very fine animals are yearly foaled, possessed of high-class pedigrees, many of which are sold at very high prices. The old Galloway breed of cattle has been rather shunted for the Ayrshire breed, the cows being considered better milkers; but other qualities of value belong to the Galloway breed, and crossing is much

*Products,
&c.*

Products, &c.
 ——— in practice. Large dairy farms are now numerous. This, with the low prices for the different kinds of grain, have caused extensive acreage to be kept in grass for grazing purposes. A new line of business is the fattening of Irish cattle for the market. A good many are received, and pay well, being large animals. The two hours' passage from Larne to Stranraer facilitates this trade. A great deal of moor and rough land has been also brought under tillage. In truth, the appearance of the district has greatly changed through these operations, with the object of yielding more rent; but so far, they have of late years fallen greatly, and even with this, the tenants find it difficult to pay their rents regularly. For many years the competition for farms was too great, and absurdly high rents were offered and accepted from outsiders, who, having made money, envied the life of a farmer, thinking that they would be capable to act as cultivators, a delusion which many have found to their cost when too late. The increase of communication, first by steam-vessels with Liverpool, Glasgow, and Belfast, and latterly by railroads to all parts, has brought prosperity to some people; but the times, as already mentioned, are against the agriculturists. The farming in many cases is good, but the difficulty is to make it pay.

GAME, &c. The various improvements in reclaiming land, &c., and finally the Ground Game Act, have taken from Galloway the high repute it had as possessing the best mixed shootings in Scotland. That is now of the past. It is still tolerably good in some

parts, but such is not the rule; and the fashion now being for men who have made money to become sportsmen, although new to it, by forming shooting parties, causes a large quantity to be killed, or wounded to die, leaving yearly too few for breeding, and thus keeping up a good stock. Also the old style of shooting over well-trained dogs is now exceptional, having been shunted for the new system of ranging the land in large parties extended with keepers or watchers between those shooting. This affords no chance to the game, and continuous firing is the result where it is found. Another new form is driving, so that slaughter may be enjoyed without much exertion. Such new ways suit the new school, which is destructive of real and true sport. The object now is to boast of the number killed. In Galloway the moors are getting smaller, and the bags equally so. Grouse, however, hold on better than other game: the early hatching and where they nest have something to do with this. Their eggs are not of much use to the poacher in his new trade. It is different with those of partridges and pheasants, for which twopence and sixpence respectively are given. They are sent to England, where a ready market offers. The purchasers forget that they are equally guilty with those who steal them. Some think that this egg-lifting is on a small scale, but our experience in results causes us to differ. Galloway used to abound with partridges on the moors and arable lands: it is the reverse now. In some places black game continue to be tolerably plentiful, but they may be classed

Game, &c.

Game, &c. as on the decline. In addition to what we have written, the change in the character of the land, and poaching a regular business with a number of men and lads, game must become scarce. The facilities for getting their spoil off to the English, Glasgow, &c., markets are now many by rail and sea. The Ground Game Act has increased poaching, &c. Hares are rapidly disappearing, not killed from doing damage, but for the pot, or to be sold; and we are rather inclined to think that feathered game is sometimes mistaken for hares and rabbits when the gun is being carried under the mischievous Ground Game Act. To conclude, Galloway as a first-class shooting country has now lost that position. It is not suitable for hounds. In our time two small packs of harriers were kept, but their movements were limited, and with the deaths of their owners they also went.

ADDERS. St Patrick, before leaving Strathclyd for Ireland, omitted to clear Galloway of those venomous reptiles called adders. Some of considerable size are met with, but in general they are not very large. Whatever their size may be, their bite is the same. They rise and hiss with forked tongue distended in true serpent fashion when attacked or disturbed. Their bite is far from agreeable, and may prove dangerous; only recently a little boy had to lose a foot to save his life. Various remedies have been recommended, even to the cutting out the part bitten. We cannot prescribe for man, but we can for animals, having had a valuable setter bitten on the neck, which immediately be-

came so swollen that the animal's head and body seemed one, with no connecting neck. Various antidotes were applied without any benefit, and his death seemed inevitable, when our attendant, a noted poacher previously, but who became a valuable man, recommended the leaves of the common ash-tree to be boiled in water, and to apply it to the part affected as a warm fomentation. This, with a little internal medicine (castor-oil), saved the dog's life, and in a week he was fit for work. We think that such a simple remedy should be made known. We have in our possession a petrified adder, which Superintendent M'Neill of the county police, Stranraer district, gave to us. It is coiled, and must have been of considerable size. Unfortunately a portion with the head is gone. The girth round the centre is over four and a half inches.

Adders.

What attracts the attention of not a few is the fine race of men to be seen in Galloway, and particularly in the Rhinns. The average height is considered to be about five feet ten inches, with good muscular development. A good many of and over six feet in height are constantly to be seen. Strange to say, however, that fewer Galwegians enlist than in any other part of Scotland. This may arise from the absence of the sight of regular troops in regiments, which are unknown there. A few stragglers now and then are only seen. A good recruiting party, going from town to village with pipers or with fifes and drums, in the old style, might stir up the old fighting ardour, and cause men to enter the service.

GAL-
WEGIAN
CHARAC-
TERISTICS
AND
SCOTT'S
NOVELS.

*Gallowayian
Characteristics and
Scott's
Novels.*

The Celtic characteristics of the people are disappearing through the influx of strangers. For long the land has been principally owned by those of non-Celtic origin, and now, from so many Ayrshire farmers with labourers following their cows, yearly the population is becoming more and more mixed, with new ideas and customs not always advantageous. This no doubt will be called by the questionable title of Saxon progress. We have shown in its proper place how the appellation Saxon has been misapplied. With the changes in Galloway it is curious, however, that the old Celtic feeling of affection for the district does not decrease. The many now as inhabitants whose names alone tell that they are not of the ancient stock, and whose ancestors consequently had no share in the troubles of past times, yet talk and write of Galloway in rapturous strains. In no part of Scotland has the feeling of love of country been surpassed, and it has spread to the new settlers. The character, aspect, and the history of the district must have had a good deal to do with it. The district is rural; the few small towns are influenced thereby, and the people are as one. The population is, however, gradually decreasing: the cause we will not enter on, beyond stating that the fall in the farmer's prosperity has much to do with it. The population of Wigtonshire in 1881 was 38,448; in 1891 it is 35,739—a decrease of 2709. In Kirkcudbrightshire in 1881 it was 39,627, and in 1891 it stands at 40,230—thus only holding its own by the small increase of 603. The populous town of Brigend, now Maxwelltown, adjoining Dumfries,

with manufactories, no doubt keeps the total number from showing a decrease.

Galloway has provided subjects for three of Sir Walter Scott's novels, 'Guy Mannering,' 'Old Mortality,' and the 'Bride of Lammermoor,' also a heroine for the 'Heart of Mid-Lothian.' 'Redgauntlet' is a little connected. The great author's position, however, with Galloway has been misrepresented in more ways than one since his departure from this life. If he had been spared in health for some time longer, it is probable that he would have been the first to have given the true version. Helen Walker, the original of his Jeanie Deans in the 'Heart of Mid-Lothian,' was born and buried in the parish of Irongray. In the churchyard Sir Walter raised a memorial stone, with an inscription written in London on the 18th October 1831.

*Gallowayian
Characteristics and
Scott's
Novels.*

The subject hinted at in the foregoing remarks is of some interest, and we will briefly give an outline account. The question has been raised, Was Sir Walter ever in Galloway? An idea has existed that he visited the district in March 1793, when he was twenty-two years of age, and had just passed as an advocate of the Scottish Bar. He was then engaged as counsel for the minister of Girthon parish, who had got into trouble. The church and manse are close to the small country town Gatehouse-on-Fleet, which marches with the parish of Anwoth. To this place he is stated to have gone. If so, it must have been a very hurried and hidden visit; for, strange to say, neither his own family nor the M'Cullochs of Ardwall (afterwards connections),

SIR
WALTER
SCOTT.

*Sir Walter
Scott.*

within a mile of the town, ever heard of his having been in the district. The supposed visit had its origin in a memorandum written by Mr Joseph Train after his visit to Abbotsford. It is to the effect that Sir Walter stated to him, "Neither had he visited Galloway further than being once in Gatehouse on professional business; but he said I had raised his curiosity so much respecting these places, that if his health permitted he was resolved to take a journey to that quarter the following season." The next summer Sir Walter was at Dumfries, but no further. The foregoing appears in Lockhart's *Life of Sir Walter*, a work which is open to question on various matters. Mr Train, then supervisor of Excise at Newton Stewart, was not a Gallovidian by parentage or birth; but he was a zealous antiquarian, and Sir Walter soon got hold of him as a useful correspondent. No one served Sir Walter with greater earnestness. Even, however, if admitted that he (then Mr Scott) did visit Galloway in 1793, it does not advance the main point, that to his own observations and research at that time the after-written novels were due. We are well acquainted with the country around, and the locality where the scene of 'Guy Mannering' is laid. Although only two or three miles from Gatehouse, yet being in a direction out of his beat, unless he had some special object, which is most improbable, and is unknown, he would then have been unaware of anything to excite interest for such an exploration. In fact, the very words given by Mr Lockhart, "that I [Mr Train] had raised his curiosity so much respecting these

places," show that he had never visited the country. 'Waverley,' his first novel, was not written for twenty years afterwards, and 'Guy Mannering,' the first one connected with the district, and now being referred to, was not published for twenty-two years afterwards—viz., 24th February 1815. What is still more remarkable, is the statement of Mr Lockhart that it was only begun about Christmas 1814—actually a work of only six weeks' labour. This, if correct, was certainly "pro-di-gi-ous." Mr Train is said to have supplied Sir Walter with most of the materials for his novels on Galloway subjects. That he did so to some extent is doubtless true, but it was not always correct: for example, the 'Bride of Lammermoor' scene at Baldoon is fiction. The bride died some months after her marriage in an ordinary way, and her husband not only survived her, but married again, and his daughter and heiress was the wife of the founder of the Earls of Selkirk family in Galloway. Her father, the hero of the tale, was killed from his horse stumbling and throwing him in Leith Wynd, Edinburgh. We possess a fac-simile copy of the marriage-contract, sent to us by the late Earl of Selkirk, who possessed the original, and the Bride of Lammermoor's signature is so firm, that no dislike to the union is apparent therefrom. The original was found at St Mary's Isle among the family papers. The particulars will be found under Baldoon, vols. i. and ii. 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway.' Lockhart omitted to do justice to the position held by Thomas, brother of Sir Walter. He married Elizabeth, youngest daughter of David

*Sir Walter
Scott.*

*Sir Walter
Scott.*

M'Culloch of Ardwall, whose property is a mile or so from the scene depicted in 'Guy Mannering,' and also Kirkclaugh within the bounds, belonging to another of the same family. A little further on is the old castle of Barholm, which shares with Carsluith (a few miles nearer to Creetown) as having been the ideal Ellangowan in the novel, and on the shore is Dirk Hatteraick the smuggler's cave. In fact, all along the road and coast in that part the scene is laid. Those on the southern part of the district claim the honour for their coast, &c., where there are caves, &c.; but to the parishes of Kirkmabreck and Anwoth it must be considered to belong. Elizabeth M'Culloch, the wife of Thomas Scott, was noted for her fondness of, and the picking up the ancient Galloway traditions, and she is said to have been a great favourite of Sir Walter's. Then her husband, as described by Sir Walter, was unsurpassed in delineating Scottish humour. Sir Walter, when offering him literary employment, wrote on the 19th November 1808: "Now, as I know of no one who possesses more power of humour or perception of the ridiculous than yourself, I think your leisure hours might be pleasantly passed in this way." Afterwards, when appointed as Paymaster of the 70th Regiment, then stationed in Canada, Sir Walter wrote to him there, after 'Waverley' came out, "Send me a novel intermixing your exuberant and natural humour. . . . You have more fun and descriptive talent than most people, and all you want—that is, the mere practice of composition—I can supply, or the devil's in it." Several of the characters in the 'Antiquary' are

stated to have been taken from officers in the 70th. *Sir Walter Scott.*
With so much talent, there is every reason to believe that through his wife and her relations in Galloway, Thomas Scott obtained and forwarded to his brother the rough groundwork of that fine novel 'Guy Mannering.' This may account for its production in six weeks. These remarks are not intended in any way to disparage Sir Walter's enormous resources and power, but to do what he would have done, in not allowing his brother Thomas's actions to be overlooked. In Edinburgh, in 1826, when acknowledging himself as the author of the novels, he is reported by Lockhart as having said, "that every sentence was composed by himself, and taken from his own reading and observation." This was correct in one sense, but it could not have been in strict form, for he could not avoid obtaining his subjects and information from others, and then working them into shape. His interest in Galloway subjects arose in that way, otherwise he could have known nothing. It has not yet been made out that he was in the district in 1793, and certainly it was the only time when he had the opportunity of being in Galloway. Although Irongray marches with Dumfriesshire, and the church, &c., not far from Dumfries, where the remains of Helen Walker are interred, he never visited the spot. We have already referred to this. He received the information about Helen Walker and her sister from Mrs Goldie of Craigmuaie, whose history is immortalised in the pages of the 'Heart of Mid-Lothian.' Another subject is the interest taken by Sir Walter in the gun so well known as

*Sir Walter
Scott.*

"Mons Meg," whose birthplace he and others alleged to have been in Galloway. This error we corrected in 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway,' at p. 171, vol. iv.; and p. 371, vol. v. She was forged at Mons in Flanders.

In conclusion, we will now refer to Sir Walter's statement that those of his name had a Gallovidian origin, and were called Scotts from Galloway, having been inhabited by the clans to whom that name properly belonged. He started with the first found mentioned, who is described as "Uchtredus filius Scoti"—Uchtred, the son of a Scot—and which appears between 1107 and 1130. At the same period there was also a Herbert Scot, and between 1165 and 1214 a Rob. Scot. They were all witnesses to Church charters, &c. Sir Walter, while claiming for Uchtred a Galwegian origin, and consequently Gaelic blood, yet stamps him with a Norman prefix as Uchtred Fitz-Scott, and that he flourished in the Court of King David I. In regard to this, De Gerville, a French writer, states: "What is curious, the Duke (Buccleuch) seeks his surname in Normandy, and pretends that it was l'Escot." We are not surprised at the Frenchman's remark, but greatly so that a craving for a Norman extraction should have extended to the great Scottish writer. We will briefly state that the account given by Sir Walter is erroneous. Where the first of those bearing the name of Scott sprang from is not known. Their connection with the Border commenced with the half of the Branxholm estate in 1446. They were previously in Lanarkshire. The mosstrooper career began with

Walter, first of Branhholm, who exerted himself *Sir Walter Scott.* against the falling house of Douglas, and he rose on their ruin in 1455. This was the starting-point of the great good fortune of the Scotts of Branhholm, and the Buccleuch family, their descendants in the female line.

The southern Scotts had no share in the struggle for independence under Wallace and Bruce. Henry the Minstrel mentions a John Scott in Perthshire, who joined Wallace while he was in that district, but nothing more. His name does not again appear. As Douglas correctly states, those of the name in the North and those in the South were not in any way connected, and their armorial bearings were distinct. The name first appears to have been casually given as a *sobriquet* to different individuals belonging to Scotland. However, it is not our intention to give the history of the Scotts here, which will be found fully gone into from p. 450, vol. iii., 'Lands and their Owners in Galloway.' Also of the Queensberry and Buccleuch families—the latter still retaining a small portion of the land which, by inheritance, they obtained with the Dukedom of Queensberry. The subject is rather delicate for us to deal with, owing to the close intimacy with three generations of the Buccleuch family and a near relative (our late father), which commenced when he was young. This included Duke Henry, and Duchess. (The latter, as the only child of the Duke of Montagu, brought with her the Montagu estates.) With their family the friendship was strong, and specially so with the Earl of Dalkeith (afterwards Duke Charles) and his brother

*Sir Walter
Scott.*

Lord Montagu, who were his close companions. Although of the past, and all of them gone, yet from what we mention it is with hesitation and reluctance that we enter on the subject; but as the period embraced Sir Walter's advent as an author, and as his statements affect Galloway history, we cannot avoid giving the correct account. We are in possession of interesting information, but such is private, and we confine our remarks to what we have learned from independent research. At the period we refer to, the great author was working his way into public favour; and we have no hesitation in so far stating that he not only went wrong in trying to trace a Galwegian origin for the Scotts, but in regard to the Buccleuch family he caused a departure from correct descent in ascribing to them, and allowing them to assume, the position which strictly belongs to male lineage, and not to female in their case. It is much to be regretted, for it has led both the Buccleuch family and the public to believe that they were and are the real representatives, when the male line and representation exists with another branch. It was a weakness which we would have thought the great Scottish writer was above yielding to. Instead of giving to Uchtred, the son of a Scot, who existed in the twelfth century, the Norman prefix which did not apply to him, Sir Walter should have shown where it could have been correctly bestowed. Thus he would have removed the confusion which has arisen from the surname of the Buccleuch family not having been taken as Fitz-Charles-Scott, or as Scott-Fitz-Charles.

The dropping of the proper patronymic, when lands have been obtained through an heiress, is much too common. Various families in Galloway, and elsewhere in Scotland, are now known by surnames not borne by their own male ancestors. The sooner it is corrected the better. No family should disown in public form their forefathers' surname for another, which may stand higher in a historical or social sense. Let them be coupled, when the heiress's name has to be taken in accordance with the inheritance. We enter on this subject from the confusion which it has occasioned in many ways, past and present.

*Sir Walter
Scott.*

Y



SUPPLEMENT.

THE value attached by many to Norman lineage, with the confusion which prevails in regard to those of note who accompanied William, Duke of Normandy, to England, in A.D. 1066, induces us to annex the list prepared by Mr Leopold de Lisle, which is to be found in tom. 2 of the 'Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie.' William, Duke of Normandy, the conqueror of England, held a festival at Dive (the Norman port at which he had embarked) to inaugurate the inscription on a tablet of marble in the church there, with the 449 names of those of more or less position who accompanied him in his expedition to England. The date is not given, but it must have been after the Conquest, and therefore most unlikely that any of his companions were forgotten. The king died in 1087.

When Mr de Lisle prepared the list he was Director (President) of the Society of Antiquaries, and a profound archæologist. It was published in Paris.

Achard.
" d'Ivri.
Aioul.
Aitard de Vaux.
Alain Le Roux.
Amauri de Dreux.
Anguetil de Cherbourg.
" de Grai.
" de Ros.
Anscoul de Picquigni.
Ansfroi de Cormeilles.

Ansfroi de Vaubadon.
Annger de Montaigu.
" de Sénarpont.
Ansgot.
" de Ros.
Arnoul d'Ardre.
" de Perci.
" de Hésdin.
Aubert Greslet.
Aubri de Couci.
" de Ver.

Auvrai Le Breton.	Gautier de Saint-Valerie.
" d'Espagne.	" Tirel.
" de Merleberge.	" de Vernon.
" de Tanie.	Geoffroi Alselin.
Azor.	" Bainard.
Baudoin de Colombières.	" du Bec.
" le Flamand.	" de Cambrai.
" de Meules.	" de La Guierche.
Bérenger Giffard.	" Le Maréchal.
" de Toeni.	" de Mandeville.
Bernard d'Alencon.	" Martel.
" du Neufmarché.	" Maurouard.
" Pancevolt.	" de Montbrai.
" de Saint Ouen.	" comte du Perche.
Bertran de Verdun.	" de Pierrepont.
Beuselin de Dive.	" de Ros.
Bigot de Loges.	" de Runville.
Carbonnel.	" Talbot.
David d'Argentan.	" de Tournai.
Dreu de La Beuvrière.	" de Trelli.
" de Montaigu.	Gerboud Le Flamand.
Durand Malet.	Gilbert Le Blond.
Ecoulant.	" de Blosseville.
Engenouf de L'Aigle.	" de Bretteville.
Enguerrand de Raimbeaucourt.	" de Budi.
Erneis de Buron.	" de Colleville.
Etienne de Fontenai.	" de Gand.
Eude, comte de Champagne.	" Gibard.
" évêque de Bayeux.	" Malet.
" Cul de Loup.	" Maminot.
" Le Flamand.	" Tison.
" Le Fourneaux.	" de Venables.
" Le Sénéchal.	" de Wissant.
Eustache, comte de Boulogne.	Girard.
Foucher de Paris.	Gonfroi de Cioches.
Fouque de Lisors.	" Mauduit.
" d'Apperville.	Goscelin de Corneilles.
" Le Bourguignon.	" de Douai.
" de Caen.	" de La Rivière.
" de Claville.	Goubert d'Aufai.
" de Douai.	" de Beauvais.
" Giffard.	Guernon de Pois.
Gautier de Grancourt.	Gui de Craon.
" Hachet.	" de Raimbeaucourt
" Heusé.	" de Rainecourt.
" d'Incourt.	Guillaume Alis.
" de Laci.	" d'Ansleville.
" de Muocdent.	" L'Archer.
" d'Omontville.	" d'Argues.
" de Risbou.	" d'Audrieu.

Guillaume de L'Aune.	Guillaume Pantoul.
" Basset.	" de Parthenai.
" Belet.	" Péché.
" de Beaufou.	" de Perci.
" Bertran.	" Pevrel.
" de Biville.	" de Ficquigni.
" Le Blond.	" Poignant.
" Bonvalet.	" de Poillei.
" du Bosc.	" Le Poitevin.
" du Bosc Road.	" de Pont-de-l'Arche.
" de Bourneville.	" Quesnel.
" de Brai.	" de Reviers.
" de Briouse.	" de Sept Meules.
" de Bursigni.	" Taillebois.
" de Cahaignes.	" de Toeni.
" de Cailli.	" de Vatteville.
" de Cairon.	" de Ver.
" Cardon.	" de Veoli.
" de Carnet.	" de Warenne.
" de Castillon.	Guimond de Blangi.
" de Ceaucé.	" de Tessel.
" La Chèvre.	Guineboud de Balon.
" de Colleville.	Guinemar Le Flamand.
" Corbon.	Hamelin de Balon.
" de Daumerai.	Hamon Le Sénéchal.
" Le Despensier.	Hardouin d'Escalles.
" de Durville.	Hascouf Musard.
" d'Écouis.	Henri de Beaumont.
" Espec.	" de Ferrières.
" d'Eu.	Herman de Dreux.
" comte d'Évreux.	Hervé Le Berruier.
" de Falaise.	" d'Espagne.
" de Fécamp.	" d'Héliou.
" Folet.	Honfroi d'Ansleville.
" de La Forêt.	" de Biville.
" de Fougères.	" de Bohon.
" Froissart.	" de Carteret.
" Goulaffre.	" de Culai.
" de Letre.	" de l'Île.
" de Loucelles.	" du Tilleul.
" Louvet.	" Vis-de-Loup.
" Malet.	Huard de Vernon.
" de Malleville.	Hubert de Mont Canisi.
" de La Mare.	" de Port.
" Maubenc.	Hugue L'Ane.
" Maudit.	" d'Avranches.
" de Moion.	" de Beauchamp.
" de Monceaux.	" de Bernières.
" de Noyers.	" de Bois Hébert.
" fils d'Osberne.	" de Bolbec.

Hugue Bourdet.
 „ de Brébeuf.
 „ de Corbon.
 „ de Dol.
 „ Le Flamand.
 „ de Gournai.
 „ de Grentemesnil.
 „ de Hodenc.
 „ de Hotot.
 „ d'Ivri.
 „ de Laci.
 „ Maminot.
 „ de Manneville.
 „ de La Mare.
 „ Mautravers.
 „ de Mobec.
 „ de Montfort.
 „ de Montgomeri.
 „ Musard.
 „ de Port.
 „ de Rennes.
 „ de Saint Quentin.
 „ Silvestre.
 „ de Vesli.
 „ de Viville.
 Ibert de Laci.
 „ de Toeni.
 Ive Taillebois.
 „ de Vesci.
 Josce Le Flamand.
 Juhel de Toeni.
 Landri.
 Lanfranc.
 Mathieu de Mortagne.
 Mauger de Carteret.
 Maurin de Caen.
 Mile Crespin.
 Murdac.
 Néel d'Aubigny.
 „ de Berville.
 „ Fossard.
 „ de Gournai.
 „ de Muneville.
 Normand d'Adreci.
 Osberne d'Arques.
 „ du Breuil.
 „ d'Eu.
 „ Giffard.
 „ Pascoreire.
 „ du Quesnay.

Osberne du Sausai.
 „ de Wanci.
 Osmond.
 „ de Vaubadon.
 Ours d'Abbetot.
 „ de Berchères.
 Picot.
 Pierre de Valognes.
 Rahier d'Avre.
 Raoul d'Aunon.
 „ Baignard.
 „ de Bana.
 „ de Bapaumes.
 „ Basset.
 „ de Beaufou.
 „ de Bernai.
 „ Blouet.
 „ Botin.
 „ de La Bruière.
 „ de Chartres.
 „ de Colombieres.
 „ de Couteville.
 „ de Courbèpine.
 „ L'Estourmi.
 „ de Fougères.
 „ Framau.
 „ de Gael.
 „ de Hauville.
 „ de l'Île.
 „ de Languetot.
 „ de Limesi.
 „ de Marci.
 „ de Mortemer.
 „ de Noron.
 „ d'Ouilli.
 „ Painel.
 „ Pinel.
 „ Pipin.
 „ de La Pommeraie.
 „ du Quesnai.
 „ de Saint Sanson.
 „ du Sausai.
 „ de Savigni.
 „ Taillebois.
 „ du Theil.
 „ de Toeni.
 „ de Tourisville.
 „ de Tourneville.
 „ Trauchard.
 „ fils d'Unspac.

Raoul Vis-de-Loup.	Robert fils de Geroud.
Ravenot.	„ de Glanville.
Renaud de Bailleul.	„ Guernon.
„ Croc.	„ de Harcourt.
„ de Pierrepont.	„ de Larz.
„ de Saint Hélène.	„ Malet.
„ de Torteval.	„ comte de Meulan.
Renier de Brimou.	„ de Montbrai.
Renouf de Colombelles.	„ de Monfort.
„ Flambard.	„ comte de Mortain.
„ Pevrel.	„ des Montiers.
„ de Saint Waleri.	„ Murdac.
„ de Vaubadon.	„ d'Ouilli.
Richard Basset.	„ de Pierrepont.
„ de Beaumais.	„ de Pontchardon.
„ de Bienfait.	„ de Rhuddlan.
„ de Bondeville.	„ de Romenel.
„ de Courci.	„ de Saint Leger.
„ d'Engagne.	„ de Thauou.
„ L'Estourmi.	„ de Toeni.
„ Freale.	„ de Vattville.
„ de Meri.	„ des Vaux.
„ de Neuville.	„ de Veci.
„ Poignant.	„ de Vesli.
„ de Riviers.	„ de Villon.
„ de Sacquenville.	„ de Vitof.
„ de Saint Clair.	Roger d'Abernon.
„ de Sourdeval.	„ Arundel.
„ Talbot.	„ d'Auberville.
„ de Vatteville.	„ de Beaumont.
„ de Vernon.	„ Bigot.
Riche d'Andeli.	„ Boissel.
Robert d'Armentières.	„ de Bosc Normond.
„ d'Auberville.	„ de Bosc Road.
„ d'Aumale.	„ de Bretuil.
„ de Barbes.	„ de Bulli.
„ Le Bastard.	„ de Carteret.
„ de Beaumont.	„ de Chandos.
„ Le Blond.	„ Corbet.
„ Blouet.	„ de Courcelles.
„ Bourdet.	„ d'Evreux.
„ de Brix.	„ d'Ivry.
„ de Bucy.	„ de Lacie.
„ de Chandos.	„ de Lisieux.
„ Corbet.	„ de Meules.
„ de Courcon.	„ de Montgomerie.
„ Cruel.	„ de Mogaux.
„ Le Despensier.	„ de Mussegros.
„ comte d'Eu.	„ de Oistreham.
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 Sigar de Cioches.
 Simon de Senlis.
 Thierry Pointel.

Tihel de Hèrion.
 Toustain.
 " de Griervy.
 " de Sainte Hélène.
 " fils de Rou.
 " Mantel.
 " Tinel.
 Turoid.
 " de Grenteville.
 " de Papelion.
 Vanquelin de Rossai.
 Vital.
 Wadard.

Supplementary list, principally furnished by the Abbé De La Rue.

D'Auvrecher d'Augerville.
 De Baillieul.
 De Brigueville.
 Daniel.
 Bavent.
 De Clinchamps.
 De Courcy.
 Le Vicomte.
 De Tournebut.
 De Tilly.
 Dauneville.
 D'Argouges.
 D'Auvay.

De Cananville.
 De Cussy.
 De Fribois.
 D'Hericy.
 D'Houdstot.
 De Mathan.
 De Montfiquet.
 D'Orglande.
 Du Merle.
 De Saint Germain.
 De Saint Marie d'Aignaux.
 De Touchet.
 De Venois.

Several of the names given in this list will be found in the first one.

Another list was prepared by Comte Edouard de Magny, entitled the 'Nobiliaire De Normandie.' He is called a distinguished genealogist, &c. It was published in Paris, 1863, &c. The particulars are not so full as we would desire.

Bernard, fils de Hervé duc Orleans.
 Alain Fergent, Comte de Bretagne.
 Néel, Vjcomte du Cotentin.
 Odon, Evêque De Bayeux.
 Aigneaux (d') Herbert.
 Ambleville (d') Eustache.

Avenel des Biards.
 Bacqueville (de) Martel.
 Banville (de) Guillain.
 Barville (de).
 Baynce (de).
 Beaujeu (de) Eude.
 Bec (du) Toussaint.

Brésauté.
 Bucey (de).
 Cayeu (de) Hamon.
 Chambray (de).
 Courtenay (de).
 Coville (de).
 Creully (de) issu de la race ducs
 de Normandie.
 Dognel.
 Errard, Etienne.
 Espinay (d').
 Estontville (d').
 Folleville (de).
 Gace (de).
 Gouhier.
 Grante, Robert.
 Gruel, Robert.
 Harenc (tige de la maison de
 Gauville).
 Haye (de la) Robert.

Haye, Malherbe (de la).
 Hercé.
 Houel.
 Janville (de).
 Malherbe (de).
 Mallebranche (de).
 Mauvoisin (de).
 Montior (du) Payen.
 Néel de Saint Sauveur.
 Roumare (de).
 Rupierre (de).
 Russel, *alias* Rozel.
 Tancarville (de).
 Tesson, Raoul.
 Thomas (de) Amaury.
 Tillières (de).
 Tracy (de).
 Umfraville (d').
 Vieux, Pont (de) Guillain.

We will now refer to "The Roll of Battle Abbey," which is the most familiar by name to many. The Abbey was consecrated by William Rufus, who succeeded to the throne of England in A.D. 1087. He then deposited there as relics his father's sword and pallium. The Roll is supposed to have been made out at or about this time. Its authenticity, however, rests on a questionable basis. By many it has been considered as an after-forgery. Even if authentic at first, it soon became valueless from the interpolations made by the monks, who for centuries, to please individuals, had added names which were not borne at the time by any one with the expedition to invade and conquer England. If the Roll were now in existence, it would have no other value than being a good exposition of monkish fraud. Three copies of it were taken: one by Leland, who died in 1552, and which is given in his 'Collectanea,' published years afterwards; another by Holinshed in his Chronicle of 1577; and a third published by Stowe a few years afterwards, followed by Duchesne, to whom Camden gave it. The articles deposited by King William Rufus in the Abbey remained there until 1717. The pallium had had many of its ornaments taken by one and another; but the sword and it, together

with the Roll, were removed in that year to the residence at Cowdray when the Abbey changed owners. There they remained until 1793, when all were lost by a destructive fire which occurred in the residence.

We have thus dealt with the lists known to have been made, so that those who claim Norman lineage, and that their ancestors accompanied William, Duke of Normandy, to England in A.D. 1066, can have evidence whether the histories handed down to them are or are not correct. The most of the names given have been and are unknown in Great Britain and Ireland, which supports what has been understood, that many of his companions returned to Normandy. The *dé* Morvilles and the *dé* Meschines and a few others who rose to high position at an early period, and then disappeared, may have preceded the Conqueror. The great mass of the settlers were mercenary troops from all parts of France, &c., who had no names, but afterwards had them from the lands or positions obtained. The highest sounding Continental names were from the towns, &c., from whence they came, and bestowed on them by their comrades as *sobriquets*, which were retained. The *dé* attached to names on the lists conveys no certainty that lands were owned. Not a few had it in connection with towns; for example, Foucher de Paris, and others of various towns, &c., is direct proof in regard to this point. In Normandy, those who acquired lands which constituted a barony assumed the name of it as a surname, with the prefix *dé*, and this custom prevailed throughout France until the Revolution a hundred years ago. Also, under the Norman line of kings in England there are many instances of individuals adopting a similar course on acquiring lands. At the same time many examples can be given of families who wrote *dé* before their names, and yet never possessed an acre in any manor or barony of a name similar to their own. Such has been gathered by us as the opinions of the best authorities, which agree with our own.

CORRIGENDA.

AT page 225 reference is made to Father Innes's statement about Columbanus, which may confuse him with Columba, as we omitted to give the purport of what we wished to convey. It was to show that although Columba and Comgall were bitter enemies at one period, yet the first named afterwards became an unworldly man. Columbanus, trained as a monk in St Comgall's great monastery at Bangor, was subsequently of note as a missionary abroad ; but there is reason to believe that he first passed over to Scotland and visited Iona or Galloway, or both, and then went to Gaul. If this is correct, the differences caused from Columba belonging to a race hostile to those in Galloway, who had in Comgall a friend and supporter, was probably brought to a pacific termination by Columbanus, and accounts for the position which the Irish-Scottish Church at Iona obtained in Galloway.

Father Innes calls St Comgall a monk of the monastery of St Gall. This we have not looked into.

The year in which Columbanus left Ireland is not known, but as he was born about A.D. 543, and did not depart for Gaul with twelve companions until about 585, he had thus reached the age of forty-two, which gave time for service both in Ireland and Scotland. He founded various monasteries in Gaul. In 610 he went to that part now known as Switzerland, and is said to have left one of his companions named Gallus, who founded the monastery there, which still bears his name as St Gallus. Columbanus went to North Italy and founded the monastery of Robbio in the Apennines. He died in Italy in A.D. 615.

It is a curious fact that, although within reach of Rome, yet Gaul, &c., was to some extent indebted for Christian knowledge to several monks from Ireland, &c., who at different periods went there as missionaries. England also was indebted to the same source.

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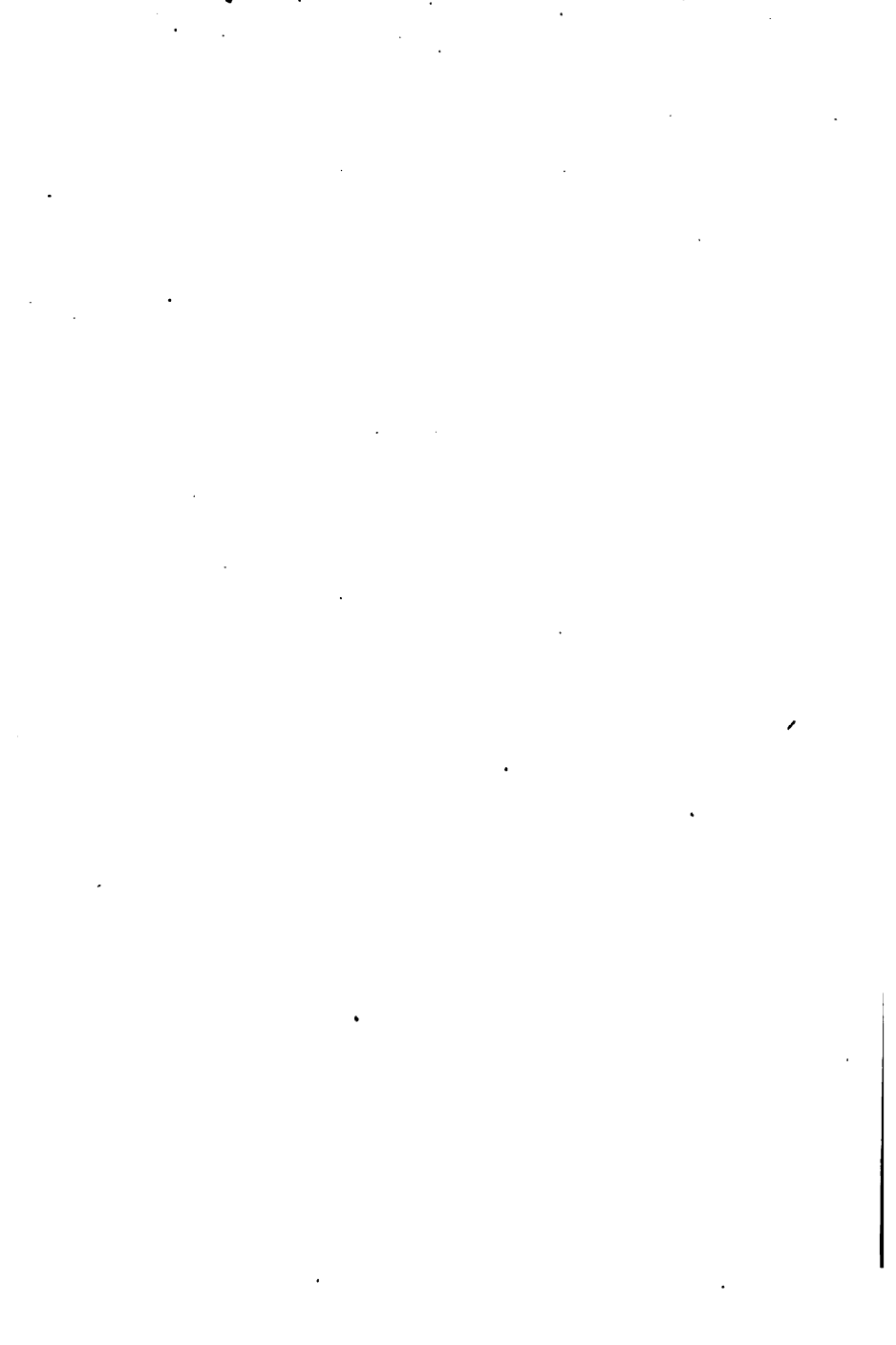
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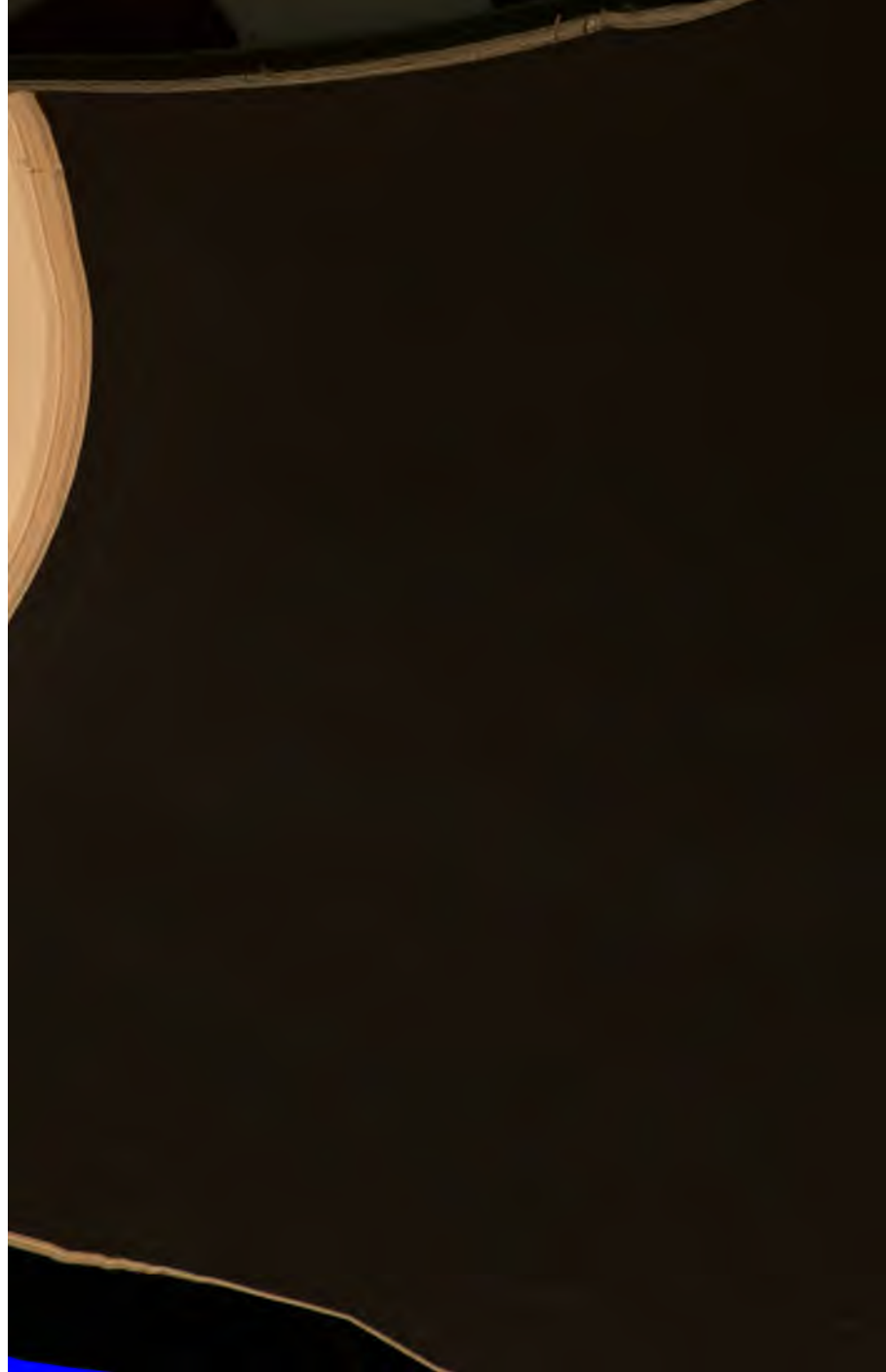
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